



1 - Mr. Fred J. Baumgardner  
Room 930.9&D  
1 - Mr. English

**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C.**

To: **FBI, Chicago (134-46 Sub B)**

Date: **April 26, 1966**

Re: **SOLO  
IS - C**

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
John Edgar Hoover, Director

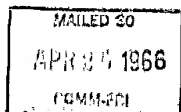
REC-79  
FBI File No. **100-428091**  
Lab. No. **D-504916 BS** -5459

Examination requested by: **Chicago**  
Reference: **Airtel 4/19/66**  
Examination requested: **Document**

**ST-107**

Remarks:

Enclosures (4) (Q13, Q14, 2 Lab report)  
1 - New York (100-134637) Enclosure (Lab report)



Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_

JME:fa (6)

✓ (1) Mr. [Signature] 904 3410  
✓ (2) ENGLISH 100-428091

**ADMINISTRATIVE PAGE**

MAY 6 1966  
MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REPORT  
of theFEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
WASHINGTON, D. C.

To: FBI, Chicago

Date: April 26, 1966

FBI File No. 100-428091

Re: SOLO  
IS - C

Lab. No. D-504916 BS

Specimens received 4/22/66

Q13 Envelope addressed to "Lydia White 25 EAST WASHINGTON ST.  
CHICAGO 6062 ILL USA SUITE 918" postmarked "UXBRIDGE,  
MIDDLESEX 10:15 AM 12 APR 1966"

Q14 Accompanying slip of glassine paper bearing frosted tracing of the  
address on Q13

## Result of examination:

Examination of those surfaces of the envelope, Q13, which are presently accessible (without altering the present condition of the flaps) does not reveal any conditions which could have resulted only from tampering. It will not be possible to conduct further examination of Q13 for the purpose of determining whether tampering evidence is present without permission to alter the specimen.

Examination of the glassine slip, Q14, reveals that it was under the front surface of the envelope at the time the envelope was addressed. Examination microscopically of the face of the envelope, Q13, does not reveal evidence of tracing of the address. The envelope was resting on a hard surface when the address was hand printed on it, except the letter "T" in the abbreviation "ST," which was written against a softer background such as a blotter or pad of paper.

The submitted evidence is attached for Chicago. If further examination is desired, it will be necessary that specimens Q13 and Q14 be resubmitted.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

JME: (6)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Laboratory Work Sheet

Re: *Solo*  
*IS-C*

File # *100-428091-5459*  
Lab. # *D-504916 BS*

Examination requested by: *SAC CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)*

Examination requested: *DO C*

Date received: *4-22-66*

Result of Examination:

Examination by: *ENGLISH*

*Report: Exam of the surface of the env, Q13, which are possible (without) altering the present condition of the flap does not reveal any conditions which could be similar to the present condition. It will not be possible to conduct further exam of Q13 for the purpose of determining whether tampering and is present without permission to alter it.*

*Exam of the glassine slip, Q14, reveals that it was under the front surface of the env at the time the env was addressed. The env was resting on a hard surface when most of the add was written. It fits (except the "T" in the address "ST", which was written against a softer background.*

Specimens submitted for examination

- Q 13 — *Envelope add to "Lydia White, 25 EAST WASHINGTON ST., CHICAGO 6062 146 USA SUITE 918 PM UXBIDGE, MIDDLESEX 10:15AM 12 APR 1966"*
- Q 14 — *Accompanying slip of glassine paper bearing frosted tracing of the address on Q13.*

*Lab rest  
4-26-66  
JME:if*

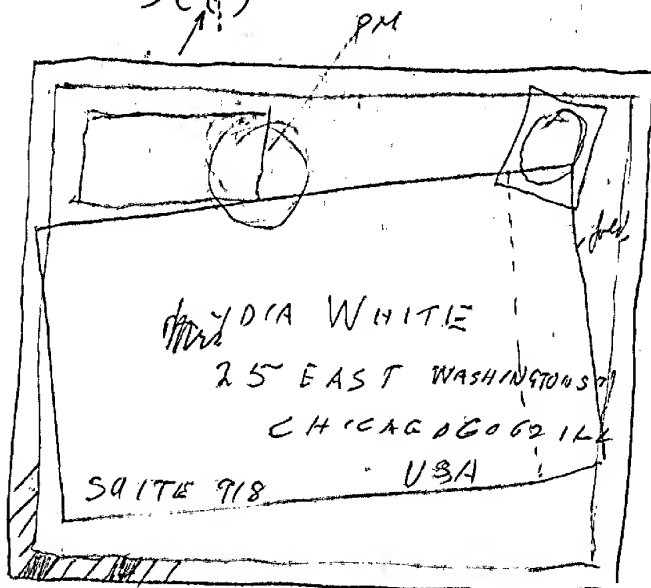
cc New York (100-134632)

to Mr. Fred J. Baumgardner Rm 930 "9th & D."

Tracing on Q<sup>14</sup> matched that add on Q<sup>13</sup> in pressure distribution

"T" of abbreviation "ST" written when env resting on softer background that that under the env when rest of add written.

Test shows <sup>the</sup> glassine will receive fainter image when under document of approx thickness of page of Q<sup>13</sup> (test in upper rt corner) (8)



Not possible to determine whether trapped with unless permission is given to alter the env. Q<sup>13</sup>

Position of glassine in env at time add was written on env.

Signif. of "Mrs" not known; may have been placed earlier in address which was discarded after writing single term "Mrs".

Signif. of presence of glassine not known may be means of detecting operation of mail cover tracing. (Double image would reveal that tracing occurred.) Single image prevents substitution of fresh glassine

The end of over tracing of add found on mirror exam of Q<sup>13</sup>



F.B.I.

Date: 4/19/66

REC-79  
82Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

D-504916

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS - C

ReCGairtel dated 4/15/66 setting forth the contents of a letter received that date from CG 5824-S\*.

As you will recall, our interpretation upon the receipt of this letter was that the communication was prepared by CG 5824-S\* in Moscow, USSR, where he had delivered it to one of the departing delegates of the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB) to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). According to published press accounts, the British delegation consisted of JOHN GOLLAN, General Secretary, and J. WODDIS, member of the Political Committee of the Executive Committee of the CPGB. In view of the informant's long acquaintance with GOLLAN, we surmise it is more likely that the letter was furnished to JOHN GOLLAN for posting in Great Britain. Published press accounts indicate that the British delegation departed from Moscow, USSR, from 4/9-11/66.

As noted in reCGairtel, this letter was postmarked in Great Britain. This postmark, which is rather faint, reads as follows: Uxbridge, Middlesex, 10:15 a.m., 12 April 1966. Unless CG 5824-S\* had postdated the letter (which bears the date 4/11/66), this would indicate that

- ③-Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM) 107 REC-79  
1-New York (100-134687) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago

WAB:MDW  
(5)

100-428091-5459

MAY 3 1966

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

CG 134-46 Sub B

the individual who mailed it in London had departed Moscow on Monday, 4/11/66, via British European Airways Flight #911, departing Moscow at 6:05 p.m. and arriving London Airport at 7:55 p.m.; or on Tuesday, 4/12/66, via Aeroflot Flight #31, departing Moscow at 8:20 a.m. and arriving London 9:40 a.m. The London Airport, aka Heathrow Airport, is located in Middlesex County, just outside London. Previous correspondence in past years mailed by CG 5824-S\* in the vicinity of London Airport has borne the postmark Hayes, Middlesex, rather than Uxbridge. The relative proximity of Uxbridge and Hayes is unknown to this office. The home addresses of GOLLAN and WODDIS are also unknown to this office.

As set forth in reCGairtel, this letter was mailed to a drop address maintained in Chicago for CG 5824-S\*. This address was as follows: Lydia White, Suite 918, 25 East Washington Street, Chicago, Illinois. As the Bureau has been previously advised, this address has been utilized as a drop for communications from WILLIAM KASHTAN, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada (CPC), and from JOHN WILLIAMSON, former Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) member, now a leading member of the CPGB.

When the contents of this letter were furnished to the Bureau in reCGairtel, these contents were obtained by the Chicago Office telephonically from CS [redacted] who is the individual who actually obtained the letter. CS [redacted] was subsequently unavailable for contact until 4/18/66 and therefore the original of this communication was not obtained from him until last evening, 4/18/66. Upon opening this communication, there was found in addition to the handwritten letter from CG 5824-S\* a small piece of tracing paper which upon examination disclosed an exact replica of the handprinted address appearing on the envelope. It became immediately apparent that this tracing had been made by some individual immediately prior to conducting a chamfering operation on this envelope. Subsequent examination of the flap of the envelope disclosed that it had, in fact, been chamfered since needlemarks are apparent as are creases created by the resealing of the envelope.

This situation raises a very complex chain of questions. From a broad view we must ask: 1) who opened the letter? 2) Was the inclusion of the tracing paper a

mistake or provocation? 3) If a provocation, what would be the expected reaction? 4) If a mistake, and the mistake is realized, what should be the reaction? 5) What should be the reaction by a clandestine apparatus to such a discovery?

Addressing ourselves to the first question, that is, who opened this letter, it would appear that the most logical perpetrator is [ ] although there are several other possibilities. These others are either the Russians or the U.S. Government intelligence agencies, i.e., CIA or FBI. As to the latter, we do not believe that this innocuous-appearing handprinted air mail letter would attract the notice of our intelligence agencies. We know that this address is not on any watch list of ours but the possibility remains that it could be on a watch list of CIA if they have a sufficiently sensitive source who would have furnished them this address in the first place (the only sources of this information will be covered later in this communication). From a probability standpoint, we believe the U.S. intelligence agencies are least likely the individuals concerned. As to the Russians, it is possible that JOHN GOLLAN (or WODDIS) turned this communication over to the CPSU prior to his departure for their perusal. Perhaps he wished to protect himself. We believe this is also unlikely. b7D

If [ ] opened the letter, the question is posed how did [ ] become aware of the existence of this letter? First of all, perhaps GOLLAN (or WODDIS) is a highly placed source of [ ] and he simply turned it over to them upon his return to England. Perhaps GOLLAN gave the letter to someone else to mail and the "someone else" is a source of [ ] and turned it over to them. If GOLLAN, WODDIS, or the "someone else" is not a spy, it is possible that a close surveillance on GOLLAN at the time of his arrival in Great Britain disclosed he mailed the letter which was then removed from the mailbox. A further possibility is that the LYDIA WHITE address is on a watch list maintained by [ ] of mail leaving Great Britain. If this is so, whence did [ ] learn of this address? b7D

As you know, the LYDIA WHITE address was furnished to JOHN WILLIAMSON for communications to the CP, USA from the CPGB. Therefore, WILLIAMSON is aware of this address and if he is a source of [ ] he would have furnished to them this address and they could then place it on a watch list for outgoing mail. As you will recall, Bulet dated b7D

CG 134-46 Sub B

4/20/65, captioned "SOLO," furnished information to Chicago originating with [ ] indicating that [ ] has coverage of the top leadership echelon of the CPGB. A review of the information furnished by [ ] on that occasion leads to strong suspicion that JOHN WILLIAMSON is the high level source of [ ]. This present circumstance reinforces this view to some extent. b7D

This address could also have been furnished to [ ] for its watch list from another source. In the recent past, the Bureau apparently furnished to the [ ] the identity of the "J. KLEINSTEIN" drop in Canada used by CG 5824-S\* to communicate with the CPC. As the Bureau was previously advised by Chicago, the other end of this axis is the LYDIA WHITE address in Chicago. If the Bureau furnished the [ ] both ends of this axis, the [ ] could have furnished this LYDIA WHITE address to [ ] in view of the close relationship between [ ]. b7D

We now turn our attention to what is a very crucial question in this entire matter, i.e., was the inclusion of the tracing paper a mistake or a provocation? In the first instance this could have been a mistake on the part of the individual who performed the chamfering. While this would constitute quite a coincidence, nonetheless, this is probably the most logical explanation of such an occurrence. Nevertheless, we do not believe that we can dismiss our consideration of the possible ramifications of this occurrence by a mere acceptance of this simple explanation. We believe that both sides of this coin must be examined and although mere coincidence (or carelessness) may be the answer, we believe that we must govern our actions based upon an objective appraisal of the more pernicious possibility that the tracing paper was deliberately included in the envelope as a provocation.

Assuming, as we must, the possibility of a provocation, then who are the provocateurs? It may be [ ] the Russians, CIA, or (not to be discounted) a Russian infiltrator [ ]. The last, although deadliest of all, seems the least likely, and this would assume an even greater coincidence that this particular letter would fall into the hands of the at best relatively few Russian spies in such a position. Such a provocation by CIA seems unlikely since they had to merely request investigation by the FBI to uncover the true identity b7D

CG 134-46 Sub B

of either this end or both ends of this communications apparatus. Since we have previously held it unlikely that the Russian intelligence services would chamfer such a letter written by CG 5824-S\*, we must also believe it unlikely that they would attempt such a provocation, lacking as they do control over either or both ends of the communication, that is, Great Britain and the U.S. We hold to the likelihood that if a provocation is being attempted, then [ ] is behind it. b7D

Assuming a provocation, what does the provocateur expect as a reaction to his ploy? At this point we advance into the realm of purest conjecture. If by tipping off the compromise of a drop do they hope to force communication in true names? If [ ] controls GOLLAN or WODDIS or WILLIAMSON, do they expect a communication in the open which will reveal the identity of "LYDIA WHITE"? If they suspect that CG 5824-S\* is a source of the FBI, do they hope to smoke out this fact by a subsequent contact by the FBI advising them of the discovery of the tracing paper? If they know that the FBI is aware of this address, do they hope to discover if the FBI is opening mail to that address, clandestinely, and thus discover the tracing paper and communicate this to [ ] in a manner so as to reveal such activity by the FBI? b7D

The possibilities are endless, with none of them a certainty since conjecture heaped upon conjecture seldom is fruitful.

From our position here, in close contact with our informant and the day-to-day operations of our apparatus, we believe we have developed a reasonably accurate "feel" for this operation. So, with no assurance or confidence and amenable to argument and conviction to the contrary, we render the following opinion which we feel is consistent with the probabilities. We believe that this is possibly a mistake by [ ] we further believe that the discovery of this letter by [ ] was not the result of a watch list but was handed to them by the medium of the services of GOLLAN, WODDIS, or WILLIAMSON acting as a high level source in the CPGB. We cannot be more definite until we determine in conversation with CG 5824-S\* to whom he gave the letter. According to press reports, GOLLAN did not arrive in the USSR until b7D

CG 134-46 Sub B

4/4/66, thus missing the first five or six days of the 23rd Congress, CPSU. If GOLLAN is a source of [redacted] it would be more natural to assume they would desire that he be present for the entire Congress. On the other hand, WODDIS was present from the outset. WILLIAMSON would be the source only if GOLLAN or WODDIS turned the letter over to him to mail (or if the letter was discovered by means of a watch list based on information furnished by WILLIAMSON). We cannot presume to isolate the advantage to be gained by [redacted] if this is a provocation, but we can only conjecture that they would be attempting to discover additional CPUSA-CPGB communications links or to smoke out a FBI operation. b7D

Now we come to the crux of our analysis: What should be or would be the reaction of a clandestine communist apparatus to this discovery of chamfering? First, by whom would they believe the letter was opened and, second, what action would the apparatus take? As to the first question, we believe unquestionably a clandestine apparatus operating in the U.S. under the constant pressure and in constant fear of the FBI would arrive at no other conclusion but that the FBI was aware of this drop address and was covering it. A small suspicion might linger that someone in the CPGB was a spy but this would be secondary to their blame of the FBI.

Then what does the apparatus do? A number of people could be contacted. CG 5824-S\*, now abroad, could be contacted; the Russian intelligence service could be informed; the CPGB could be informed. The drop could be closed and another opened.

CG 5824-S\* is in the homestretch of Solo Mission #20. He should be coming out any day. We, in the Chicago Office, who actually are his apparatus at home, do not expect to receive any additional communications sent in this fashion. However, against that possibility, should CG 5824-S\* be informed immediately through the apparatus not to use the LYDIA WHITE address again? Our answer to that is "no" for two reasons: First, any such message to CG 5824-S\* through the Russian apparatus would arouse the suspicion of the Russians that CG 5824-S\* is now compromised and is being covered by the FBI. This would vitiate his usefulness to the CPSU and his place in the Solo apparatus would be finished. Secondly, such a message at this time to CG 5824-S\*, who is laboring under terrible mental pressures and great physical handicaps,

CG 134-46 Sub B

would cause him untold worries which we believe are completely unnecessary since we do not expect him to use that address again anyway.

We do not believe that the Solo apparatus at the CP, USA end should acknowledge its fears of compromise to their CPSU counterparts. After all, this security problem is CG 5824-S\*'s problem and not theirs. They would expect him to handle his own problems. They have trouble enough with their own. Since the problem arose in the Western world, there is little or nothing the Russians can do about it anyway except to close down the apparatus.

There is one action which must be taken, whatever the situation. This drop must be closed. Therefore, upon his return CG 5824-S\* must communicate to the CPGB and the CPC that this drop is no longer to be used. No reason need be given and if questioned, the answer is "security." At this time there seems no way for CG 5824-S\* to make any inquiries of the CPGB to ascertain the circumstances of the tampering with this letter. After all, if CG 5824-S\* was dealing through JOHN GOLLAN, how can CG 5824-S\* now question the General Secretary of the CPGB since he, himself, may be the source.

In the last analysis, our primary concern is whether or not this occurrence is indicative of damage to the Solo apparatus or whether any action on our part based upon this could cause harm to that apparatus. In our view, we have not been harmed in anyway by this occurrence per se. If GOLLAN is the source, then he is well aware of the identity of our informant and his covert activities and travels to the USSR and has been for many years. The same is true of JOHN WILLIAMSON. If the letter was discovered by means of a watch list, then additional information will require the [redacted] to request investigation by the FBI and we can control whatever answer we desire to give them depending upon the questions they may raise. We can conceive of no way in which this occurrence is indicative of a penetration of the Solo apparatus. b7D

Therefore, the only question that remains is whether or not any action on our part based upon this discovery could jeopardize the Solo apparatus. We believe that any contact which we might make with [redacted] looking toward the discovery of additional information as a consequence of our discovery of this tracing paper could certainly jeopardize the security of CG 5824-S\*. b7D

CG 134-46 Sub B

If this is a provocation by [redacted] our inquiry would alert them to the fact that we have control of this drop address. Furthermore, if the [redacted] source is GOLLAN or WODDIS or WILLIAMSON, then [redacted] would have readily available the information by which to identify CG 5824-S\* by his true identity as an informant being operated by the FBI. Since past experience has indicated the possibility of infiltration of [redacted] by the Russian intelligence services, then both CG 5824-S\* and NY 694-S\* would be placed in extreme physical jeopardy.

b7D

It is our view that the only action which should be taken at this time is that upon the return of CG 5824-S\* to the U.S. we will discuss this matter with him in detail. Furthermore, at that time, provided no more compelling arguments to the contrary are advanced by CG 5824-S\*, we will instruct CG 5824-S\* to make arrangements for the discontinuance of the use of this drop address by both the CPGB and the CPC, the only two CPs utilizing this address. We deem it advisable that no action be taken either by us or by NY 694-S\* until this matter is discussed at length with CG 5824-S\*.

*not done 5/6*  
Providing the Bureau is agreeable, we would suggest that the New York Office discuss this matter in detail with NY 694-S\* for his observations and recommendations. The Bureau is requested to advise New York if this course of action is agreeable. New York should instruct NY 694-S\* to take absolutely no action until this matter is thoroughly discussed by us with CG 5824-S\* and our course of action is approved by the Bureau.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original envelope and the tracing paper contained therein. The FBI Laboratory may wish to examine the envelope to confirm the presence of evidence of chamfering. The FBI Laboratory is requested to examine the enclosed tracing paper to determine, if possible, its origin. A small portion may be cut from the end of this tracing paper for such analysis. However, there should be no further mutilation of either the tracing paper or the envelope since it may be necessary to request the return of both items.

This matter will be discussed with CG 5824-S\* upon his return to the U.S. and the Bureau and New York will be advised of his observations at that time. Chicago will inform the Bureau and New York of our recommended course of action after our discussion with CG 5824-S\*.



FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICELaboratory Work SheetRe: SOLO  
IS - CFile # 100-428091  
Lab. # D-504916 BS

Examination requested by: Chicago (134-46 Sub B)

Examination requested: Document

Date received: 4/22/66

Result of Examination:

Examination by: English  
7-5Specimens submitted for examination

- Q13 Envelope addressed to "Lydia White 25 EAST WASHINGTON ST.  
CHICAGO 6062 ILL U S A SUITE 918" postmarked "UXBRIDGE,  
MIDDLESEX 10:15 AM 12 APR 1966"
- Q14 Accompanying slip of glassine paper bearing frosted tracing of the  
address on Q13

ENCLOSURES (2) TO BUREAU FROM CHICAGO

Original envelope containing tracing paper

RE: SOLO  
IS-C

Bufile 100-428091  
CGfile 134-46 Sub B

Transmitted via CGairtel to Bureau 4/19/66

Q13 + Q14



FILE  
7 - JME/lll

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5459

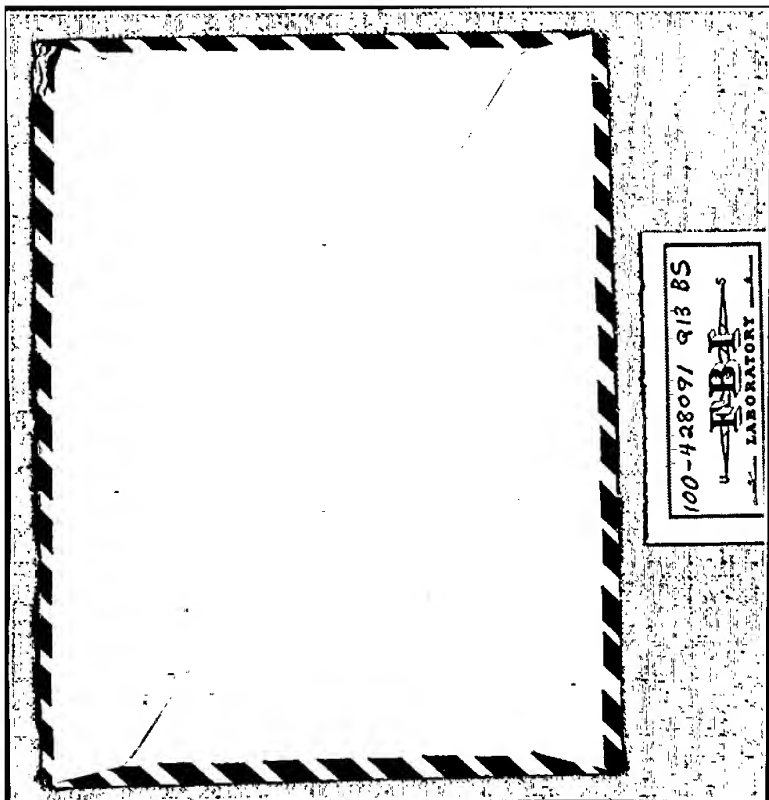
81B 51108  
WHITE  
25 E WASHINGTON S  
CHICAGO ILL  
USA

DOC LAB NOTE:

**ITEM (S)**  
**CAN NOT**  
**BE SCANNED**

**DESCRIPTION**

Negatives



100-428091 Q13 BS





HAVE YOU  
TAKEN OUT  
YOUR LICENCE  
FOR RADIO-1



LYDIA WHITE  
25 EAST WASHINGTON ST  
CHICAGO 6062, ILL.  
USA.

SUITE 918

100-428091 913 BS



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. Conrad. *JCW*  
FROM : C. F. Downing  
SUBJECT: SOLO

DATE: April 28, 1966 *WJS*

INTERNAL SECURITY - C *5- Sh... Bag...*

Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S\* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 4/28/66, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time three messages, NR 518 GR 47, NR 241 GR 193 and NR 234 GR 122, were intercepted.

NR 241 GR 193 and NR 234 GR 122 are repeats and are respectively the subject of my memoranda to you dated 4/18/66 and 4/14/66. NR 518 GR 47 is a new message, the plain text and cipher text of which are attached.

The New York Office is aware of the contents.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
  - 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
  - 1 - Mr. Downing
  - 1 - Mr. Newpher
  - 1 - Mr. Paddock
- Al*

*PWP*  
PWP:drv  
(7) *SW*

*Al*  
ENCLOSURE  
ST-107  
REC-79

100-428091-5460  
6 MAY 3 1966

65 MAY 4 1966 *540*

4/28/66

NR 0518 GR 047

04/28/66

17693 32407 95472 01000 96055 45932 81887 30484 50795 98684

91269 68456 78034 41836 33979 23996 69218 94730 89362 17963

85424 72156 43394 54692 72835 98681 34362 53391 35779 10115

29454 25634 39795 46923 64903 60872 00540 27168 13096 77275

58927 86190 17441 40030 57659 48844 43305

NR 0518 GR 047

04/28/66

#1#|CAPHUBHILL|INFORMX|SAINT|#2#|JINMAY|ISTENTUGDNE.

WAGREED|TIME|BOTH|DAYS|SAME|NEW|FREQUENCIES|.FIRST#12666#|

SECOND#13582#|THIRD#14413#99999

100-428091-5460



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

*RA*  
**Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE**

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. Conrad *June W*

DATE: April 28, 1966

FROM : *C. F. Downing*

SUBJECT: *SOLO*  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

On 4/28/66, the New York Office furnished the text of a message the informant desired to send and requested that it be enciphered. The cipher text was furnished to New York on the same day.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

*del*  
JULM:dek  
(7)

REC-79

100-428091-5461

6 MAY 3 1966

ST-107

*for Mr*  
*all*  
ENCLOSURE

65 MAY 4 1966 *FWO*

4/28/66

61467-12300-79264-34082-87200-54309-93669-34219-40136-17625-  
00506-38503-13701-61024-22441-73767-05213-08127-78009-17866-  
70237-31694-10865-07915-37296-01906-73025-90036-07457-45307-  
11145-61229-82163-54117-74594-21863-36942-40115

THIS WILL ACKNOWLEDGE YOUR TUGS SCHEDULE FOR  
MAY. NEW TIME TWO HOURS LATER WITH #12666#, #13582#  
AND #14413#, RESPECTIVELY.

100-428091-5461  
ENCLOSURE

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 4/28/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
(ATT: FBI LABORATORY)  
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)  
SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

5- *[Signature]*

On 4/28/66, there were received from the Soviets via radio three ciphered-coded messages. One message was a repeat of the 4/14/66 message, which was repeated on 4/18/66. (See NY airtel, 4/18/66, paragraph 1.)

A second message received was a repeat of the second message received on 4/18/66. (See NY airtel, 4/18/66, paragraph 2.)

The plaintext of a third message received is as follows:

"1. Arriving person identical with  will inform on Needleman.

"2. In May listen radio on new agreed time, both days same new frequencies:

"First 12666  
Second 13582  
Third 14413"

Regarding item #2 in last message see NY airtel, 4/21/66, paragraph 11.

1 - BUREAU (100-428091) (RM) REC-79  
(1 - FBI Laboratory)  
1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B) (AM-RM)  
1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)  
1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

WCM:rvs  
(8)

ST-107

6 MAY 3 1966

Approved: *[Signature]* Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

65 MAY 1 1966

TELETYPE UNIT

APR 29 1966

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI NEW YORK

ENCODED MESSAGE

1136 PM URGENT 4-29-66 EDB

TO DIRECTOR /5/ /100-134637/

ENCODED

FROM NEW YORK /100-134637/

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

SOLO, IS-C.

RE BUREAU TEL CALL TO NEW YORK, FOUR TWENTY EIGHT SIXTY SIX, RE USSR OPINION RE OPPOSITION EXPRESSED BY SENATORS FULLBRIGHT, MORSE, GRUENING AND R. KENNEDY TO UNITED STATES POLICY IN VIETNAM.

ON FOUR TWENTY EIGHT SIXTY SIX, CHICAGO FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR DASH S ASTERISK ADVISED DISCUSSIONS WITH MIKHAIL A. SUSLOV AND BORIS N. PONOMAREV, BOTH SECRETARIES OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOVIET UNION, AND OTHER RUSSIAN LEADERS, REVEALED FOLLOWING RUSSIAN ATTITUDE. CPUSA DELEGATION TO TWENTY THIRD CPSU CONGRESS OUTLINED BREADTH AND SCOPE OF ANTI VIETNAM WAR MOVEMENT IN UNITED STATES DURING COURSE OF WHICH ABOVE UNITED STATES SENATORS ACTIVITIES MENTIONED SPECIFICALLY BY NAME. RUSSIAN LEADERS EXHIBITED FAMILIARITY WITH

END PAGE ONE

REC 11

MAY 3 1966

list to Western  
WGS:phh  
5/2/66

cc Sharrow  
65 MAY 4 1966  
4110

100-428091-5463

PAGE TWO

SENATORS DISSENT. RUSSIAN CHARACTERIZED SUCH DISSENT AS EXPRESSION OF CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN RULING CIRCLES OF UNITED STATES. RUSSIAN OPINION RE SUCH CONTRADICTIONS ARE LARGELY FORMED THROUGH READING AMERICAN COMMUNIST PRESS AND STATEMENTS OF CPUSA LEADERS, SINCE AS THEY STATED TO CPUSA DELEGATES, "WE CANNOT TELL YOU MORE ABOUT YOUR COUNTRY THAN YOU TELL US, BECAUSE WHO KNOWS YOUR COUNTRY BETTER THAN YOU." IT IS NOTED THAT DELEGATES AT CPSU TWENTY THIRD CONGRESS WARMLY APPLAUDED STATEMENT OF HENRY WINSTON, VICE CHAIRMAN CPUSA, THAT SESSIONS OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE HEADED BY SENATOR FULLBRIGHT WERE SHOWN ON T.V. AND FORCED MILLIONS OF AMERICANS TO THINK OF ENDING WAR IN VIETNAM AND BRINGING AMERICAN SOLDIERS HOME. RUSSIANS ARE COUNTING ON THESE CONTRADICTIONS TO PRODUCE CHANGE IN CURRENT UNITED STATES POLICY RE VIETNAM. RUSSIAN ATTITUDES FOLLOW BASIC MARXIST AXIOM THAT COMMUNISTS MUST TAKE ADVANTAGE OF CONTRADICTIONS IN BOURGEOISIE CAMP. THUS, IF GROUP WITHIN UNITED STATES RULING CIRCLES, SUCH AS

END PAGE TWO

PAGE THREE

ABOVE SENATORS, IS <sup>F</sup>RIGHTING FOR POLICY WHICH COINCIDES  
WITH COMMUNIST INTEREST, THEY SHOULD BE SUPPORTED. USING  
FLEXIBLE TACTICS ON ALL LEVELS, COMMUNISTS WILL UTILIZE  
ALL GROUPS WHO AGREE WITH A SPECIFIC COMMUNIST OBJECTIVE  
EVEN, FOR EXAMPLE, IF NOT ANTI IMPERIALIST, BUT ONLY OPPOSE  
VIETNAM WAR.

END

MCS

FBI WASH-DC

11 10 1968

~~TOP SECRET~~

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 2, 1966

BY LIAISON

Honorable Marvin Watson  
Special Assistant to the President  
The White House  
Washington, D. C.

1 - DeLoach  
1 - Sullivan  
1 - Baumgardner  
1 - Shaw

Dear Mr. Watson:

I thought the President would be interested in the following information which sets forth the attitude of the Soviet leadership toward opposition expressed by certain United States Senators to United States policy in Vietnam.

A source which has supplied reliable information in the past advised that leading members of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, including Mikhail A. Suslov, a member of the Soviet Political Bureau, recently discussed the scope of the anti-Vietnam war movement in the United States. They characterized the opposition expressed by United States Senators J. W. Fulbright, Wayne Morse, Ernest Gruening and Robert F. Kennedy to United States policy in Vietnam, as an expression of contradictions within the ruling circles of the United States. The Soviet leadership is counting on these contradictions to produce a change in United States policy toward Vietnam.

The fraternal delegates in attendance at the recently completed 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in Moscow, Russia, warmly applauded remarks made by Henry Winston, Vice-Chairman of the Communist Party, USA, concerning Vietnam. Winston told the Congress that sessions of the United States Foreign Relations Committee headed by Senator Fulbright, which received nationwide television coverage, were instrumental in forcing millions of Americans to take the position that the war in Vietnam must be ended and American soldiers brought home.

Tolson  
DeLoach  
Mohr  
Wick  
Casper  
Callahan  
Conrad  
Felt  
Gale  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

100-428091

WGS:pah  
(6)

~~TOP SECRET~~  
Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

REC-43

MAY 4 1966

(SEE NOTE PAGE 2)

65 MAY 6 1966

TELETYPE UNIT

~~TOP SECRET~~

Honorable Marvin Watson

According to our source, the attitude of the Soviet leadership follows a basic Marxist axiom that communists must take advantage of contradictions in the bourgeois camp. Thus, any group within ruling circles in the United States, such as the United States Senators named above, which is fighting for a policy which coincides with communist interests, should be supported. In addition, communists will use any group in the United States which agrees with a specific communist objective even if the group is not anti-imperialist but merely opposes United States policy in Vietnam. The Soviet leaders said that flexible tactics on all levels should be utilized in furnishing support to such groups.

Because of the sensitive nature of the source which furnished the above information, this communication is classified ~~"Top Secret."~~

Sincerely yours,

NOTE:

Classified ~~"Top Secret"~~ since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. This information was extracted from NYtel 4/29/66 captioned "Solo, IS - C." (CG 5824-S\*), the source of this information, recently returned from a mission to the Soviet Union where he held conferences with leading members of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Inasmuch as the Communist Party runs the Government in Russia, the data gathered by CG 5824-S\* represents the top policy of the USSR, not expressed for public consumption, but the inner thoughts as expressed from one top communist to another. Thus, this data should be of extreme interest to the President.

~~TOP SECRET~~



# ROUTE IN EUROPE

Date: 4/28/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are 3 copies, and for Chicago one copy, of an informant's statement entitled "Information Relative to Financial Subsidy of the Communist Party, USA by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union."

The information set forth in the enclosed informant's statement was orally furnished on 4/26-28/66 by CG 5824-S\*, who has furnished reliable information in the past, to SAS RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE.

Information relative to the previous meeting in October, 1965, referred to herein, was set forth in Chicago airtel to Bureau, 11/23/65, enclosing an informant's statement entitled "Discussions, October, 1965, with a Representative of Security Branch, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, in Moscow, Relating to Communication Apparatus with Communist Party, USA."

3 - Bureau (Enc. 3) (RM)  
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (Enc. 1) (AM RM)  
1 - New York (41)

WAB:msb

(6)

6 MAY 4 1965

78 MAY 25 1966

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

Information Relative to Financial  
Subsidy of the Communist Party, USA  
by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

During March and April, 1966, a representative of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA) was present in Moscow, USSR, at which time he held discussions on two occasions with a Vladimir (LNU), a representative of the Security Branch of the International Department, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), in charge of the clandestine apparatus which functions as the communications link between the CPUSA and the CPSU and by means of which is passed the CPSU financial subsidy of the CPUSA.

During a previous meeting between these two individuals during late October, 1965, the CPSU had instructed that the CPUSA must give serious thought and consideration to setting up a legitimate business concern in Switzerland or other Western European countries which could be utilized for the transfer of CPSU funds to the CPUSA, since the CPSU had become worried about the security of the present practice of directly handing these large sums of money over to a representative of the CPUSA in New York City. During the present meeting, Vladimir again raised this matter and inquired what had been done by the CPUSA to activate this plan. As he had done on the previous occasion, the CPUSA representative offered a number of objections relative to the feasibility of this plan, but made no objection to the merits of the suggestion. Nonetheless, he stated that the CPUSA was looking into this matter further. On his own initiative, the CPUSA representative suggested the possibility of utilizing a Swiss bank account whose depositors are identified only by number, which would conceal the relationship between the CPUSA and the CPSU. Vladimir flatly rejected this proposal and stated there was no security whatsoever. Vladimir stated that although the Swiss are famous for the confidential nature of Swiss bank accounts, nonetheless, the CPSU believes that such information is furnished to intelligence services whence it travels to the intelligence services of the USA. Vladimir continued to press for the CPUSA to establish a legitimate business concern in Europe so that the CPSU subsidy can be transferred to the CPUSA with "at least a mirror of legality." A discussion ensued relative to those countries with a free currency, i.e., those countries where

money is allowed in and out of the country without too much question. Furthermore, the business must be established in a country with whom the USSR enjoys reciprocal diplomatic or consular representation. For example, Switzerland, France or Belgium would be acceptable, whereas England and Ireland would not be acceptable.

In the context of the above discussion, Vladimir furnished the following information to the CPUSA representative, patently for the purpose of impressing upon him the urgency of the early establishment of some "legal" means of transferring these funds to the CPUSA:

Vladimir related that the CPSU received a message from Anatoly F. Dobrynin, USSR Ambassador to the United States, recounting the details of a discussion between Dobrynin and Dean Rusk, U. S. Secretary of State. According to Dobrynin, Rusk had confronted him with a number of questions. Rusk had made a sort of unofficial protest to Dobrynin that the USSR was violating the 1933 treaty of recognition between the USSR and the USA in which the USSR had reciprocally agreed that there would be no interference in the internal affairs of the United States. In essence, Rusk had continued, "We know that there is close contact by the USSR with the Communist Party in the United States almost on a daily basis. We know all about your close relationship with the CPUSA. We know that you are financing the work of the Communist Party in the United States and the Government knows that this money is coming into the United States and how you give them the money."

Dobrynin stated that he was "dumbfounded." After a split second of thought, he replied in effect, "Mr. Rusk, I do not know where you get your misinformation. We feel free in our minds that there is no such contact and no money is being transmitted. However, if you think you have the facts, please, Mr. Rusk, do your worst."

After relating the above information, Vladimir challenged the CPUSA representative, "What is going on?" The CPUSA representative replied, heatedly, "Why are you asking me what is going on? I don't know anything about it. I can tell you this, however. There is a big anti-Communist and anti-Soviet campaign raging in the United States at this time. It is popular to make anti-Communist and anti-Soviet statements

"and to depict the CPUSA as the American arm of the Soviet Union. Any American official feels free to make such statements, with or without the facts to prove it. But as to this statement by Rusk, I do not know anything about it."

\* \* \*

During the discussion relative to the Dobrynin-Rusk exchange, related above, Vladimir made no reference to a specific date or period during which this discussion took place. There are several factors which may furnish background of possible assistance to the determination of this date. It will be recalled that the matter of a foreign business concern for the transfer of CPSU funds to the CPUSA was first raised by the CPSU during late October, 1965. The Dobrynin-Rusk exchange was not revealed to the CPUSA representative at that time; however, this is not to say that it did not take place prior to that time. It may be that Vladimir was making something less than a full disclosure of the CPSU motivation for this instruction.

At the same time, experience has shown that this is the type of information which Vladimir would not customarily communicate to the CPUSA representative by means of the normal communications apparatus. Such items he saves for discussion with the CPUSA representative when he is in Moscow. Thus, it is possible that the Dobrynin-Rusk exchange took place some time between November, 1965, and March, 1966. The accuracy of such a surmise cannot be vouched for. It is clearly within the realm of logic that the CPSU representative was disappointed that the CPUSA could furnish no evidence that affirmative steps had been taken to effectuate the CPSU plan. Therefore, in order to demonstrate to the CPUSA representative that the CPSU really meant business and were thinking more concretely than had been intimated in the previous discussion, the Dobrynin-Rusk exchange was recounted in order to illustrate the gravity of the situation and the reality of the risks involved and thus accelerate CPUSA efforts in this matter.

FBI

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 4/29/66

Transmit the following in PLAINTEXT  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
 IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three (3) copies and for the Chicago Office one (1) copy, of a Letterhead Memorandum entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY OF SOVIET UNION DOCUMENT ENTITLED ECONOMIC, TECHNICAL AND MILITARY COOPERATION BETWEEN THE USSR AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES". The information in the enclosed Letterhead Memorandum was orally furnished on 4/25-29/66 by CG5824-S\* to SAS RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE.

The enclosed Letterhead Memorandum has been classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of the source who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security. To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed Letterhead Memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D. C.

- 1- 704 940 with Encl.  
 ③ - Bureau (Encs. 4) (RM)  
 1 - Chicago (134-46 Sub B) (Enc. 1) (RM)  
 1 - New York

CC FSJ with Encl.

RWH:jlr  
 (6)

REC-3

EX-112

6 MAY 4 1966

INVEST

Approved: FWB  
 65 MAY 1966 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Let to State + CIA 5/1/66  
 Repack

NY 100-134637

Relative to the document referred to herein,  
CG 5824-S\* furnished the following additional information:

The day before the opening of the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), held in Moscow, USSR, 3/29 - 4/8/66, CG 5824-S\* was contacted by a representative of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU, who furnished to him copies of ten (10) documents on topics of interest to the international communist movement. CG 5824-S\* was instructed to circulate them among the CPUSA delegates at the Congress and was made responsible for their safe keeping and return. These documents were characterized as highly confidential and were to be kept under lock and key and were not to be discussed with other delegates at the Congress. Each copy was to be strictly accounted for including the name of each individual who read them. CG 5824-S\* at various times had in his possession each of these documents throughout the period of the Congress. Due to the pressure of attendance at the Congress and other meetings during breaks and after sessions of the Congress, CG 5824-S\* was able to peruse these documents only during the early morning hours after retiring. Thus his notes, while giving the complete essence of these documents, are not exact copies. CG 5824-S\* advised that although the CPSU was highly secretive relative to these documents, nonetheless, he is positive that these documents were circulated among numerous delegations; however, as of this date CG 5824-S\* is the only source in the United States who saw the documents and thus a high security classification is necessary.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

April 29, 1966

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

~~TOP SECRET~~

Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
Document Intitlled "Economic, Technical  
and Military Cooperation Between The  
USSR and The Developing Countries"

A source, who has furnished reliable information in  
the past, during April 1966, advised as follows:

During March and April, 1966, Fraternal Delegations  
to the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet  
Union (CPSU) held in Moscow, USSR, from March 29 to April 8,  
1966, were being furnished for their review and return a  
twelve page document intitlled "Economic, Technical and Military  
Cooperation Between The USSR and The Developing Countries."  
The CPSU cautioned that this document was highly secret and  
was not to be discussed with anyone else. The essence of this  
document was as follows:

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the USSR  
stress fraternal alliances with the peoples who have thrown off  
the colonial and the semi-colonial yoke. The cornerstone of its  
international policy is to strengthen all such alliances.  
Our Party is doing everything possible to promote the consolidation  
of the independence of all newly freed countries. The USSR,  
like all other socialist countries, considers this its  
internationalist duty to offer support to these people struggling  
for national independence and social liberation - such as the  
young states of Africa, Asia and Latin America. One of the  
features of the 1966 - 1970 five year plan of the CPSU is the  
extension of economic cooperation, the strengthening of trade  
relations, the granting of economic and technical aid and  
strengthening the independent national economies of such new  
nations.

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~GROUP 1~~

~~Excluded from Automatic  
Downgrading and  
Declassification~~

This document contains neither recommendations  
nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property  
of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its  
contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

100-428091-5466

Communist Party of the Soviet  
Union Document Entitled "Economic,  
Technical and Military Cooperation  
Between the USSR and the Developing  
Countries"

~~TOP SECRET~~

The USSR helps to industrialize and develop a varied economy in these young nations and all aid is based on the principles of complete equality. There are no political strings attached to such aid. There are no unilateral provisions. Soviet aid to such countries also comes in the form of economic cooperation, trade and in the training of personnel. In addition, Soviet mass organizations also offer and render aid to such countries.

Today the USSR has agreements, economic and technical, with 29 non-socialist Afro-Asian countries. These agreements have been implemented in 25 of such countries. These countries are Afghanistan, Algeria, Burma, Cambodia, Ceylon, Congo (Brazzaville), Ethiopia, Ghana, Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Iran, Kenya, Mali, Nepal, Pakistan, Senegal, Somali, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, Turkey, the United Arab Republic and Yemen.

To date the USSR has committed 4,700 million rubles in economic aid earmarked for these countries. 3,000 million rubles is specifically earmarked for Asia and 1,700 million rubles is committed to the new nations of Africa. Soviet aid will be utilized to build or extend about 600 industrial and agricultural enterprises in these nations. Our technical aid to these countries involves designing and surveying jobs.

Of the 4,700 million rubles committed to this program, about one-fourth of it is to be invested in steel and iron industries. About one-sixth of the overall amount is going to be devoted to the development of power industry. About one-tenth of this money is to be devoted to the establishment of engineering and metalworking industry. All of this will result in the building in these countries of 21 iron - steel and non-ferrous metal plants, 45 engineering and metalworking plants, 20 chemical plants and oil refineries, 30 power stations, 11 factories producing building materials, 70 plants in light and food industries and 108 agricultural enterprises. We also are granting aid for the construction of medical and pharmaceutical industries, atomic reactors, dams, roads, railways, ports, grain elevators, radio stations, schools, colleges and hospitals. In addition to this, we are assisting in geographical surveys regarding the uses for the resources for these new states.

~~TOP SECRET~~



Communist Party of the Soviet  
Union Document Entitled "Economic,  
Technical and Military Cooperation  
Between the USSR and the Developing  
Countries"

~~TOP SECRET~~

By January 1, 1966, the commitment on aid undertaken by the USSR has been fulfilled to the extent of 1,900 million rubles or 40.4 per cent. Since the time economic aid first commenced to January 1, 1966, 170 factories and other installations built with Soviet aid went into operation.

The toughest problem facing most of the young independent states today is the absence of internal resources to finance their development and such resources must be sought from abroad. The USSR has played an important role in granting such funds for assisting the technical development in these countries. The greater part of such aid which has been obtained from the USSR, a total of 85 per cent was secured through long term credits granted by us. Credits to date in this connection which have been granted total 4,100 million rubles. Of this amount, 1,500 million rubles has already been drawn by these nations. No conditions are attached and there is no sharing in the profits or Soviet ownership involved. The credits are usually granted for periods up to 12 - 15 years and repayments are in equal amounts generally beginning one to three years after the aid has been delivered. This aid is usually in the form of goods.

~~TOP SECRET~~

CPSU

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CPSU

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KEY 8  
PP 2-5

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 4/21/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
 IS-C

On 4/21/66, NY 694-S\* advised that, pursuant to previously-made arrangements, he met his Soviet contact, NIKOLAI TALANOV, in the area of the Townhouse Restaurant, 138-39 Queens Blvd., Queens, NY, on the evening of 4/20/66. The informant delivered to TALANOV a roll of microfilm containing a number of messages, some of which were in cipher-code and some in code. The plain texts of these messages are as follows:

(1)

"Most important for your immediate consideration. Again your radio signals of the 14th were unreadable. Therefore my walkie-talkie signal of the 15th, asking for a radio repeat. Three radio repeats have been requested during this period. In recent weeks radio signals were weak and fading, together with atmospheric and local interference. Based on past experience, successful radio results at this time of year should be possible if the frequency range were increased to 12 megacycles through 15 megacycles, preferably in the 14 megacycle range. Request this frequency change be made as soon as possible using the same GMT as using now."

- 3 - Bureau (RM)  
 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (AM RM)  
 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)  
 1 - NY 105-14931-Sub C (TALANOV) (341)  
 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

ACB:msb  
 (8)

REC 8

ST-114

100-428091-5467

6 MAY 5 1966

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

65 MAY 10 1966

NY 100-134637

(2)

"April 18th

"Again we did not get your radio message of today. This means that the situation is getting worse and more serious. We must again ask you to repeat the radio messages of the 14th and 18th. Note my suggestion regarding possible improved reception and best radio range - between 12 and 15 megacycles, with best around 14 megacycles. Atmospheric conditions worse with each day. Urgent this change be made immediately."

(3) "CCCPSU

"My scheduled work depends upon knowing approximate date of arrival in U. S. of person identical with CG 5824-S\*."

"GUS HALL

"P.S. Can you give an answer on this very soon?"

(4)

"Please add Comrade [redacted] to May 1 Delegation. She has been with "The Worker" for many years in an administrative capacity and is a most active comrade in our Party. CLARA COLON will be chairman of May 1 Delegation. b6 b7C

"Our Comrade [redacted] will be in Washington, D. C., to see your Embassy for visas for CPUSA May 1 Delegation. She is known to your Washington, D. C., Embassy. We are sure your courtesy will again be shown to her. She will give departure date and arrival date of May 1 Delegation in Moscow with request that delegation be met when it arrives in Moscow."

"She will be there on Monday (25th) or Tuesday (26th)."

(Re above, see NY airtel, 4/6/66, Page 3, concerning the May 1st Delegation.)

NY 100-134637

(5)

"I bought a new toy--it's not exactly the same one as the one we have but it sounds almost alike--will keep using the old one until it may break and then will start with the new one. In my next walkie-talkie, after you hear the old toy (it will be first) and I have your acknowledgment, I will then use the new one; in that way you will know if the new one is O.K. or not. I will know, too, by your acknowledgment."

(The above refers to a toy <sup>duck</sup> doll used by the informant to send signals via the walkie-talkie. See NY airtel, 4/6/66, Page 6.)

(6)

"CCCPSU

"Sincere and heartfelt thanks for your splendid message sent to the John Hodes memorial meeting. It was timely and effective and led to a successful gathering of devoted scientist and professionals.

"Again my thanks

"GUS HALL"

(Re above, see NY airtel 3/11/66, Page 3.)

NY 100-134637

(7) "CCCPSU

"I am sending you the following by our Comrade [redacted] who is a most active member of our Party and whose parents were and are very responsible and active comrades in these many decades. [redacted] was born in our Party and has lived her entire life both in the Youth Party and CPUSA. If the following request can take place, it would be of great benefit both to USSR and to us, for [redacted] has a broad approach both in her work and in her activities and is gifted in always winning broad masses around her in her convictions which she always pointedly and sincerely convinces those around her. I am sure that those of your comrades who met and worked with her in the times she has been in the USSR will agree and describe her in the same way.

b6  
b7c

[redacted] has been encouraged by her University (Columbia) and her Department in which she is majoring in [redacted] that she study further for her Doctorate in the USSR and particularly the areas which she mentions. According to the University officials of Columbia she will be the first American to undertake such a research of peoples in USSR. I would recommend that this be done if it is within the realm for you to do so. [redacted] meanwhile is raising funds with various comrades--the amount of \$2500.00--which will pay for her fares and the expense of living costs in USSR plus the cost of a translator, which she will need until she masters the local language (she is studying the languages needed but has not yet mastered them).

b6  
b7c

"If you could let me know what your decision is on this request, I would be most appreciative. I repeat that in Comrade [redacted] we will both gain (our Parties) a talented, devoted and valuable expert in a field that is most important. You may inquire from any of our comrades who are still in USSR (HENRY WINSTON, JAMES JACKSON, HY LUMER) as to her loyalty and devotion and dedication to the CPUSA and the CPSU.

b6  
b7c

"GUS HALL"

NY 100-134637

Biography:

Life

Yates of [redacted]

Born [redacted]

Marital Status: Single

Education:

1. High School of Music and Art, New York City, [redacted]
2. Queens College of New York City University, [redacted]  
BA in Anthropology-Sociology; graduated with  
honors from the Department of [redacted]  
member of the Social Science Honors  
Seminar, Dean's List, Student Senate Award.
3. University of California, Berkeley, [redacted] January
4. Columbia University, New York City, July [redacted]  
present, completing PhD in [redacted] fields  
of specialization: Europe and the United States  
as a culture area, economic anthropology, peasant  
society and rural-urban relationships.).

b6  
b7c

Employment:

1. Teaching Assistantship for 4 semesters: Introduction  
to Cultural Anthropology and Introduction to Archae-  
ology, University of California, Berkeley.
2. Research on nursing and problems of student nurses  
in the United States and Canada for the National  
Student Nurses' Association (New York City), summer  
[redacted]
3. Research on the rehabilitation of cardiac patients  
for the American Nurses' Foundation (New York City),  
June [redacted]

March 28, 1966.



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Increasingly the intellectual community in the United States is becoming interested in the Soviet Union. The department of Anthropology at Columbia University in New York proposed that for the completion of my PhD I should do a field study of a community in the Soviet Union. I feel this will be invaluable for several reasons. There has never been an American anthropologist who has done a field study in the USSR and I feel I could make a special contribution both in terms of the type of study I would do and in terms of opening up a new field of interest in the United States. Also, because I will have been the only anthropologist to have been to the Soviet Union, it will place me in a position of being an "expert" in the University community.

I think it would be particularly valuable to describe a community in Central Asia or the Caucasus where the magnitude of change has been so great in the last 50 years and which prove such contrasts to formerly similar societies in neighboring countries. From this point of view I would particularly like to go to Azerbaijan. First, because there are recent bourgeois studies of Iran and the Azerbaijanian minority there who still live essentially as they did in 1917. These could be immediately compared with the study I would do. Second, because I was there in the summer of 1965 I feel a particular warmth for the Azerbaijanian people. Moreover the study of a youth city (perhaps Sumgait) will even more sharply bring out the extent of the change that has taken place since socialism.

A major problem which faces the United States Today and which clearly brings out the contradictions of capitalism is that of how leisure time (that is time spent outside of earning a living and attending school), both organized and unorganized is spent. Within the framework of a study on leisure time I feel that it will be possible to bring out all the essential features of socialism and thereby lay the basis for comparative studies of communities under capitalism and socialism. One of the many ways of bringing out the superiority of socialism is to forcefully show how human effort and time is utilized.

Some of the general areas I would propose to study would include: recreation, education, cultural development, organizational work, and interpersonal relations. An important aspect would be the role played by specific organizations such as trade unions, the Communist Party, Komsomol, the Young Pioneers, peace and women's organizations, etc.

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I have been to the Soviet Union three times, in the summers of 1959, 1962, and 1965. In 1962 I attended the World Congress for Peace in Moscow and was the chairman of the youth section of the American delegation. That same summer I also attended the Congress of the International Union of Students in Leningrad. In the summer of 1965 I was the delegation leader of a delegation of young activists invited by the Committee of Soviet Youth Organizations. I have been to Moscow, Leningrad, Volgograd, Tallinn, Baku and Lenkoran.

The above activities were carried through as assignments from the CPUSA.

The time required for this project would be approximately 3 months.

NY 100-134637

(8)

"NOTE:

"Drop LGA is next. Personal rendezvous ELLIOTT is next.  
Micro-transceiver operation #2 is next."

TALANOV then delivered to NY 694-S\* a microfilm containing the following messages:

(1) "Dear JACK BROOKS,

"Places for money (delivery) had been already used several times and for the sake of security I propose to change them. During the summer time I would prefer to have money contacts by cars along small and quiet roads in Westchester County, N. Y. I would like to know your opinion about the following two places:

"1. 'LOT'

"Town of Eastchester, Westchester County, N.Y. Along California Road (driving from road #22) between Rittenhouse Road and Highland Ave. there is on the right hand a barn-house on which there is a sign 'Saddle tree farm horses.' In 1/4 mile from this barn-house there is a small natural lot where the contact on cars can be accomplished.

(2) "Time: Preferably in the dark time, after the sunset. In each case exact time will be appointed by radio.

"Your signals:

"You are to be first at the place at the fixed time waiting during 5 minutes with lights and right turn signal on.

"My car (depending on situation) will stop on the road side by side with your car. Contact is made during the stop. If the situation does not allow it, my car will stop just behind you.

"After contact you drive a little bit straight ahead and make the first left turn.

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(3) "Reserve place:

"If the main place is occupied by an occasional car, you make a stop at Highland Ave. on the right side (towards White Plains Road) in some yards from California Road.

"Time and signals remain the same.

"Dover-story:

"You stopped the passing car for a spare can of engine oil.

"2. 'PARK'

"Town of Mamaroneck, Westchester County, N.Y. On the Old White Plains Road, going through Saxon Woods Park, in 0.3 miles from Deerfield Road (driving from New England Thruway to Hutchinson River Pkwy) on the right hand there is a rock and just afoot it there is a space on the side of the road for two cars to stand one behind another. (For your orientation: after the rock the road makes a curve at the end of which there is P.O.B. 1019).

"You come to the place first and wait during 5 minutes.

(5) "Time and your signals are the same as for 'LOT.'

"Cover-story - the same as for 'LOT.'

"Reserve place:

"If the main place is occupied, you drive ahead and stop on the side of the road before 'Wenbery Nature Center' which is on the right hand.

"Acknowledgment - in three hours after contact by appropriate telephone number.

NY 100-134637

- (6) "2. It seems to me that in winter time high buildings like 'Midland' are more convenient for money contacts. But these buildings better won't be in Manhattan, especially in the district where we already had them.

"Let's try to find similar places in Brooklyn, Queens and Bronx. As you know the city much better than I do, I would ask you to choose some places and let me know about them.

"May I have your opinion about the problem?

"END"

Included in the microfilmed messages were two hand-drawn maps of the areas mentioned above.

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With respect to his conversation with TALANOV,  
NY 694-S\* advised as follows:

TALANOV stated that the Soviets are <sup>Experiencing</sup> receiving world-wide radio trouble and that their radio scientists are trying to overcome it but are not sure just how this can be accomplished. With respect to transmissions to the CPUSA, the Soviets are of the opinion that the time for transmission should be two hours later than it is at the present time. NY 694-S\* told TALANOV that he believed that the faulty transmissions were due not only to the time element, but also to the frequencies presently being used. TALANOV commented that he was not a scientist and that he was inclined to blame all the trouble "on God." NY 694-S\* told TALANOV that, based on his experience, reception would be better if signals would be transmitted at 12 to 15 megacycles range, preferably around 14 megacycles.

TALANOV then requested that NY 694-S\* prepare a detailed report of the radio reception on ~~4/22/66~~ <sup>4/25/66</sup> and dates and that he transmit the said report to the Soviets through the Olga drop on 4/29/66. It was agreed between the informant and TALANOV that the latter would submit to Moscow NY 694-S\*'s suggestions with respect as to changes in time and frequencies of radio transmission. TALANOV stated he was quite relieved to know that the same problem of radio transmission was being experienced here as it was in Moscow. He said that their transmissions in Moscow had affected their communications throughout the world.

NY 694-S\* then asked TALANOV whether the Soviets received radio transmissions at the Soviet UN Mission to the UN. The latter hesitated and then said they did not. NY 694-S\* noted that in his opinion TALANOV is not telling the truth.

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NY 694-S\* told TALANOV that the situation with respect to radio reception had become so desperate that he had been thinking seriously of moving his reception area to some place on Long Island. TALANOV stated that perhaps this might be a good idea. TALANOV then asked NY 694-S\* if it would be possible for the latter to purchase for him a powerful transistor radio which would include not only AM-FM bands, but also the frequencies currently used in their radio operation. He stated that the Germans and Japanese manufacture such a radio. He suggested that NY 694-S\* make inquiries about this and that perhaps NY 694-S\* should purchase such a radio for himself.

NY 694-S\* inquired why TALANOV had not been using the Wall Street tape signal during the past few months. TALANOV replied that he had not forgotten that the Wall Street tape was part of the signaling apparatus and that the tape signals would be used when considered necessary.

It was further agreed between TALANOV and NY 694-S\* that hereafter the time for sending walkie-talkie signals, beginning 5/1/66, would be during the period of 7:50 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. They then discussed the fact that utilization of the walkie-talkie requires a license and that their present operation of the walkie-talkie is probably illegal since NY 694-S\* does not have a license.

119 TALANOV then said that with respect to the transfer of money from the Soviets to the CPUSA, it would be better - at least during the warm weather - to deliver the money in areas outside of Manhattan. He said that he is constantly afraid of meeting someone whom he knows when he is delivering money in the Manhattan area. He further pointed out that it would be possible many FBI Agents might be in the area at the time of such money delivery. When questioned by NY 694-S\* concerning whether or not he ever observed any FBI Agents surveilling him, TALANOV replied that so far as he knows "They have not followed me yet."

NY 100-134637

TALANOV suggested that during the summer months, it would be preferable that money deliveries would be made outside NYC, on a lonely road. He stated that NY 694-S\* could park his car on such a road, raise the hood or trunk, as if he were having some kind of trouble, and that TALANOV would approach him as if to assist him. He stated that at such time he would hand to NY 694-S\* money in a shopping bag. With respect to the possible areas where such contacts could be made, TALANOV suggested the areas of Westchester and Eastchester. He further stated that more detailed information regarding this matter was contained in the microfilm messages which he had delivered to the informant. He said that it was his opinion perhaps in May or June a change in the method of delivery of money should be instituted. NY 694-S\* told TALANOV that he had been of the opinion that Westchester was "full of FBI." TALANOV replied that the Soviets had been surveying this area for some time, and had not found that to be so.

With respect to drops, TALANOV requested that in addition to the bars now being utilized as drops, some high buildings with automatic elevators be located in the area of Queens or Brooklyn. He stated that such buildings usually have metal staircases between floors and that metal containers could be affixed to some part of such staircases where it would not be observed.

With respect to drops, TALANOV remarked that the Soviets do not like large shopping or parking areas where someone sitting in a car could observe the Soviet activity.

With regard to telephonic acknowledgements, TALANOV stated that in the event a particular telephone was inoperative, the informant should utilize the acknowledging telephone used during the prior month.



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TALANOV then stated that as regards JESSICA SMITH and "The New World Review," he will have for her next week the sum of \$30,000. He stated that if this money was needed immediately, arrangements could be made for the transfer of such money in the near future. He stated, however, that he would prefer that the \$30,000 be given to JESSICA SMITH when next the Soviets transmit the money to the CPUSA. He stated that STEPUNIN, the Soviet Cultural Attache with whom JESSICA SMITH has already conferred regarding financial assistance from the Soviets, would inform SMITH that the "money is on the way." (Reabove, see NY airtel, 4/6/66.)

TALANOV stated that he was aware of the fact that the CPUSA had advanced money to JESSICA SMITH and stated that the CPUSA should withhold from the \$30,000 to be given to SMITH, during 1966, the amount of the advance.

NY 694-S\* told TALANOV that in view of the difficulty at times of his making contact with TALANOV, it might be well to again use ISIDORE NEEDLEMAN as a channel of communication. TALANOV stated that he had no authority to utilize NEEDLEMAN again as a channel of communication, but stated he would transmit NY 694-S\*'s proposal in this regard to his superiors in Moscow.

TALANOV mentioned briefly [redacted] stating that he was aware of the fact that the latter was going to Moscow in the near future. He said that the aforesaid informant would be "well taken care of." He also commented that the Soviets had been very much impressed with GUS HALL's letter to BREZHNEV. He further commented that with regard to Vietnam, the situation there will become much worse. (NY 694-S\* stated that he did not know whether TALANOV made this statement reflecting his own opinion or that of the Soviets in Moscow.)

b7D

NY 100-134637

It was agreed that the next drop be Olga, the next meeting place be Elliot, and the next micro transceiver operation be at a card shop at 220 West 34th Street.

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 4/29/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTELREGISTERED

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
 IS-C

*Handwritten:* P-1, 2+4

On 4/29/66, pursuant to previously made arrangements with the Soviet contact NIKOLAI TALANOV, NY 694-S\* transmitted to the Soviets, via a drop, a roll of microfilm containing several messages, one of which was in cipher-code, and the others in plain code.

The plain text of the aforementioned messages are as follows:

"1. This will acknowledge your radio schedule for May. New time two hours later with 12666, 13582 and 14413, respectively."

The numbers above refer to radio frequencies. Reabove, see NY airtel, 4/28/66.

"2. Regarding the later radio signals on April 25th and 28th, the conclusion is that best reception is obtained at the later time and on the higher frequency. In all radio signals, reception was much better than on the regular current schedule."

- REC 100-428091-5468
- 1-704 965
- 3 - BUREAU (100-428091) (RM)
  - 1 - CHICAGO (134-46-Sub B) (AM-RM)
  - 1 - NY 134-91 (INV) (41)
  - 1 - NY 105-14391-Sub C (NIKOLAI M. TALANOV) (341)
  - 1 - NY 100-134637 (41)

6 MAY 5 1966

ACB:rvs  
 (8)

*Handwritten:* 5-3/1/66

Approved: *[Signature]*

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

65 MAY 6 1966

NY 100-134637

"On April 25th there was heavy atmospheric interference on radio signals 1 and 2. Radio signal #3 was readable.

"On April 28th there was heavy atmospheric and local static interference. This occurred throughout the 7 through 13 band. Radio signals were much better at the later hours.

is "The conclusion from these two days of radio signals/that radio signals were heard better at the later hour and on the higher frequency."

Reabove, see NY airtel, 4/21/66.

As part of the above message, NY 694-S\* included the following which appeared in "The NY Times" 4/3/66 edition:

"Big Sun Spot Cluster Sighted

"Bochum, Germany, April 2 (AP)-The Bochum Observatory reported today sighting a 124,000-mile-long cluster of sun spots, which could disrupt radio and television signals and affect the weather."

"3. Re: Lot and Park

"Went over the roads of "Lot" and "Park" and the area around them. This included the approaches as well as the neighborhood. After this, a most thorough inquiry was made both directly (such as stores and gas stations) and indirectly (these were by Comrades in the local Party) and reading the local newspapers. These sources indicate that there is now a crime wave in this area and county. That both local and county police together with the help of the New York State Police are on extra alert and patrol in all rural and isolated roads for suspicious persons both

NY 100-134637

"pedestrians and in cars whom they suspect as dope peddlers or sex deviates. Many arrests have been made in these recent days and weeks. Am of opinion that we both would be in a vulnerable position if, under circumstances such as they exist now in these places, we should use such areas as "Lot" and "Park" - SUGGEST CAUTION!. As a result of conference with CG 5824-S\*, it is believed it would be better now to use other areas such as the Upper Bronx or in Long Island for our purposes. (He is now back in USA.)

"Your further suggestions and answer for colour print rendezvous is most urgent now.

"Jack Brooks"

Reabove, see NY airtel, 4/21/66.

"4. CCCFSU

"In reference to May 1 delegation, unfortunately I learned after this delegation left that some are going to ask you for special favors - they will want to stay 14 USSR longer, or may ask permission to do some personal things in USSR. I do not agree to this, as you know. The delegation must abide by the laws of USSR. There should be equal treatment for each Comrade; this I know you will take care of. Instruct Chairman (CLARA COLON) that there have been no changes in this. She knows that if the delegation desires to visit one or two of the Socialist countries on the way to USA, it can be only for a few days in each place ( but no longer). Our delegation should be home by the first week in June.

"Gus Hall"

Reabove, see NY airtels, 4/6/66, page 3, and 4/21/66, page 2.

NY 100-134637

"5. CCCPSU

"I will borrow \$30,000.00 to settle with Jessica Smith. From that I will deduct what was advanced to her in this recent period. From this time on she is on her own. Her threats and ultimatums lately have been unjustified and uncalled for. Repeat again, from now on she is on her own, and will be in touch directly with the institution involved.

"Gus Hall"

See New York airtels, 4/21/66, page 14, and 4/18/66.

"6. Do not have your acknowledging phone number for month of May. Until I hear from you, I will use April number - EL 5-9310.

"Jack Brooks"

Above refers to number called by TALANOV to acknowledge clearance of drop. (See New York airtel, 11/19/65.)

"7. Please note:

"While we hope for an improvement on radio, please bear in mind that it is still not a complete certainty. If you need me, use Wall Street also.

"Sister Jenny is next (the Correct Number is 259.)"

"Wall Street" refers to Wall Street subway station, where tape signal is utilized.

"Sister Jenny" is a drop.

"259" refers to the house number at the said drop.

NY 100-134637

"8. CCCPSU

[redacted] as you know will arrive in Leningrad on May 21st and will tour there for 2 days together with [redacted]. They will leave Leningrad for Moscow on the midnight train the night of the 23rd. They will arrive in Moscow on the morning of the 24th and will stay in Moscow until the 28th (he definitely cannot stay longer than the 28th). He will be most pleased to meet and talk with your leading economists. It would be most important that they be met when the train pulls into Moscow and both be greeted. In this way, you can arrange that their stay in Moscow be most successful. Please arrange that during the time of the talks with [redacted] and speak with the leading USSR Sociologists. [redacted] is working in and is most interested in sociology. We are anxious that a good impression be made in his first visit to USSR. Gus Hall is concerned that this impression be made and so am I.

b7D

"CG 5824-S"

Reabove, see New York airtel, 4/14/66, page 1.

SAC Chicago (134-46 Sub B)

April 21, 1966

Director, FBI (100-428091)

REGISTERED MAIL

SOLO  
IS - C

Attached is the translation which you requested by ~~airtel~~ airtel dated 4/13/66.

The contents thereof, where pertinent, must be reported under appropriate captions and afforded whatever investigative attention is necessary.

Disposition of the foreign language material submitted in this connection is set forth below:

Returned herewith.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

1 - New York (100-134637) - Enclosures (2)

1 - Mr. Sullivan (Attorney General) Mr. Baumgardner, sent direct with enclosures - 2)

TM:eh  
(5)  
Enc

MAILED 3  
APR 21 1966  
COMM-FBI

NOT RECORDED

19 MAY 3 1966

54 MAY 11 1966

REC-1 100-428091-5469



TRANSLATION FROM RUSSIAN

Speech of Comrade Henry Winston

(Head of the Delegation of the Communist Party of the United States)

LEONID  
Comrade Brezhnev, members of the Presidium of the RUSSIA  
Communist Party of the Soviet Union, fraternal-delegates  
from South And North Vietnam, all delegates of fraternal  
parties! Our delegation is proud that it has been given the  
honor of greeting the Twenty-third Congress of the Communist  
Party of the Soviet Union in the name of the Communist Party of  
the United States (applause). We have arrived from a country  
which is a bulwark of world imperialism, whose policies completely  
deny the course of history. In your country there is a policy  
which completely corresponds to the course of history.  
Nevertheless, we have complete justification in feeling proud  
that we are a part of the millions of people fighting in the  
United States against the policies of imperialism. (applause)

REPORT OF THE C.P.S.U. CENTRAL COMMITTEE

We are happy to meet here, on this land of freedom,  
with representatives of so many fraternal parties. We eagerly  
await the day when the representatives of all parties can  
gather on the land of our country for discussing matters of  
peace. We hope that this will take place in the near future.  
Between the 22nd and 26th of June, 1966, the National Congress  
of our Party will take place and I would like to take this  
opportunity to extend to all party representatives here the  
warmest invitation to send fraternal delegations to our  
Congress. (applause)

The leading imperialists of our country have  
besmirched the proud traditions of the American people with  
their barbaric, foul aggression against the people of Vietnam.  
Now, as we sit in this hall with you, these leaders are turning  
once green rice fields into desert fields, destroying houses with  
napalm, and murdering friendly and kindly people who love life and  
respect the rights of other nations. The criminal and aggressive  
activities which American imperialists so openly carry out today  
in Vietnam were yesterday carried out in the Dominican Republic,  
and before that, against Cuba. They lent a hand in crushing

TRANSLATED BY:

THOMAS MC LAUGHLIN, JR.:ehf

April 20, 1966

100-438091-5469  
ENCLOSURE

the people of the Congo and the fingers of Washington were also seen in Ghana.

We announce to our dear brothers and sisters from North and South Vietnam that we consider their struggle and our struggle part of a united front against the common enemy.  
(applause)

The escalation of progressive activity carried on against the national aspiration and human rights of peoples in all corners of the world has increased the danger of unlimited war, in fear of which darkens the life of the nations of the world. "Those whom the gods wish to punish are first deprived of their reason." The madness of American imperialism consists in the fact that it attempts to carry out the impossible. The peace-loving peoples more and more realize what Comrade Brezhnev has pointed out here. Colonialism, neocolonialism and the intervention of armed forces on the territory of other countries denies the will of history. Such a policy is doomed and it will be done away with during our era. Imperialism will not escape the judgement of history.

Can this conclusion be considered correct? Yes, completely. It is supported not only by the immortal and unparalleled patriotism and heroism of the glorious people of Vietnam, shedding their blood in defense of their native land against the attacks of the "green berets"; it is supported also by the fact that American imperialism has been left alone in its military activities. It has been abandoned even by its paid and bribed allies. Not one large country has come to participate in the shooting war of American imperialism against the Vietnamese people. At the same time, men, women and children throughout the countries of the world illustrate and show their sympathy and support for the just cause of the Vietnamese people. In order to force the aggressors to leave this land desolated by them, it is necessary to carry out more powerful activities throughout the world, in every country, against the aggressive plans of American imperialists.

As the aggression in Vietnam increases, an aggression which increases the tension in relations between our country and all peace-loving governments, protests of the masses increase in the United States against the policies of a government responsible for this shameful and destructive war. At the end of the last week, 50,000 individuals marched through the

streets in New York in a militant demonstration for the end of the war in Vietnam. Throughout the country, protest demonstrations included over 100,000 people.

Recently the sessions of the Senate Foreign Affairs Committee, headed by Senator Fulbright, were shown on TV. The force of the people's movement for peace resulted in these hearings becoming an arena of animated discussion which forced millions of people to think a little about ways of ending the war in Vietnam and returning American soldiers home.

American women were the first to raise high the banner of struggle against the military course of the United States Government. Thousands of members of labor unions are beginning to actively demonstrate for an end to the war in Vietnam. The great negro freedom movement, as represented in the majority of its outstanding leaders such as Nobel Peace Prize winner, Martin Luther King, congressmen Connors and Julian Bond, elected to the house of representatives of one of the states, has close ranks with the large and militant student movement in the struggle both for freedom from Racist oppression and peace in Vietnam.

Our party, the Communist Party of the United States, which is in the very thick of these movements, acts as the initiator and active participant in the extensive unity of all classes of the people in the struggle for ending the war in Vietnam. In the turmoil of national activity against war, and against the economic loss and political reactionism which are war's consequences, and in the socialist movements arising from the struggle for peace, freedom, democratic rights and economic security, communists take a leading role.

The theme in the Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, presented by comrade Brezhnev, is also expressed in the slogan of comrade Gus Hall, who said: "Only struggle for unity can lead to unity in struggle." We are of the opinion that the insistence on the necessity of unity which is included in the words of comrade Hall and which appear in your congress, gives us the key to victory in the cause of peace, progress and socialism.

The unity of peoples can lead to victory in the cause of peace and national emancipation. However, the unity of peoples can be built only on a base of a unity in the working class, most of all, on the base of unity in the communist movement as mentioned in the 1957 Declaration and the 1960 Declaration. True proletarian internationalism and unity presupposes solidarity and friendship with the great Soviet people and party of Lenin. (applause) Therefore, I place before you the following message of the leader of our party, comrade Gus Hall, addressed to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

To the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of  
the Soviet Union

I send you the warmest greeting to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to the people of the Soviet Union.

The 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union reflects the great triumphs and new achievements on the road toward building a communist society. Your congress will continue and guarantee the further development of the triumphant historical and political course outlined in the documents of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of your Party.

It is completely understandable why the congresses of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union always attract the undivided attention of the entire world. In your achievements are embodied the essentials of the most basic, most revolutionary change in the entire history of mankind. This is not only a transfer from one economic and political system to another. The particular essence of the transformation consists in the fact that the last system based on exploitation of man by man is passing from the stage of history. Mankind has now started firmly on the path leading to a bright tomorrow, in which there will be no slavery, oppression or exploitation. This transfer to a new concept on relations between peoples is a transfer to a new form of life. In order to clearly understand the significance of this leap to a new concept of social living, one must understand its character. The undivided interest which the whole world shows in your 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and in your achievements and problems, gives testimony to the deep and growing interest of all mankind in this change to a new form of life. You, people of the Soviet Union, have progressed along this path further than anyone. You are pioneers

in the construction of a life without exploitation. Your Congress is a Congress of pioneers in this epic change toward a new life.

We warmly congratulate you on your achievements.  
(applause)

If in a given stage of development in international relations, in a given stage of history, one would attempt to underline the key concept, the most basic idea, the most essential factor which, more than any other, is the decisive one for socialist progress, it would undoubtedly be unity, unity and struggle. It would be unity of all the forces on the earth struggling for peace, unity of the countries of socialism, unity of Marxist Parties throughout the world and unity of the working class. Experiences of struggle, achievements and defeats testify to the necessity for unity. Unity is the highest demand of the moment. To forge such unity is the most revolutionary task in this decisive hour. (applause) Unity in the ranks of progressive forces always has had a great significance, and during the present time it is decisive. Unity always gives new strength to the struggle. In current relations among forces in the international arena, unity will guarantee a new and qualitative leap in the growth of strength within the revolutionary process.

That which unifies the ranks of the working class, the ranks of the anti-imperialist forces, the ranks of Marxists throughout the world, and the ranks of world socialism is basic and unchanging. That which divides our ranks can only be a temporary phenomenon.

Among countries, peoples, and members of the working class there is no such special interest which can be found to be in opposition to the basic need of the current era - that of unity. The interests and progress of all peoples are linked to unity. Unity in struggle corresponds to the interests of all progressive forces in the best manner possible.

Unity is a voice of triumph over the imperialism of the United States in Vietnam. Unity is the voice of national

independence for all peoples. Unity is the voice of all the triumphs of socialism. Unity is the voice of the most rapid development and industrialization possible in the countries of socialism. Unity is the voice of triumph from the working class.

In a time when the balance of power has changed to the detriment of the reactionary powers, the lack of unity in the ranks of those who fight for progress plays into the hands of the enemy now more than ever before. The lack of unity in the anti-imperialist ranks has become the most dangerous weapon of imperialism. The lack of unity in the ranks of world socialism has become the most dangerous weapon in the hands of capitalism. The lack of unity in the ranks of the forces of peace is, to a significant degree, encouraging war and aggression. Therefore it is necessary to reinforce and develop everything leading to the strengthening of unity.

The lessons of battle and the experience of life call for unity. Both successes and defeats have prepared ground for new steps on the road to unity. The experience of struggle now is creating a political situation which dooms to failure all splitting steps and activity. The struggle for unity among the forces of progress is a struggle for Marxism-Leninism. To hurl obstacles on the road to unity, all the forces struggling against imperialism and for socialism and progress is a rejection of Marxism-Leninism. (prolonged applause)

The struggle for unity is a struggle for proletarian internationalism. To deny unity in struggle means denying proletarian internationalism.

The struggle against imperialism and for socialism judges all parties on their position in this key question of striving for unity.

New initiatives and new efforts must constantly be undertaken in the interest of unity. Only the struggle for unity can lead to unity in the struggle.

We know that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union stands for these positions. We are only using this opportunity to announce our support for the struggle for unity and to express our awareness of the importance of this struggle.

I wish to express my deep regret that I cannot be a guest at your historic congress. In June of this year, for the first time since 1959, our party is openly conducting its national congress. We have just published the draft of a new program of our party. All this does not permit me to leave the country at this time. However, I eagerly await my trip to the Soviet Union after our national congress.

Please accept our most heartfelt congratulations and expressions of confidence that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people will continue to carry out construction of a new Communist society and play a leading role in the transfer to a new form of life.

Gus Hall  
Communist Party of the United  
States (prolonged applause)

- We, American Communists, demand the following from the United States Government:

- Hands off Vietnam. (applause)
- Hands off the Dominican Republic. (applause)
- End interference in the affairs of Cuba and the countries of Latin America and end interference in the affairs of Africa and Asia. (applause)
- Hail to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. (applause)
- Hail to the unity of the international Marxist movement, the most important guarantee of peace and triumph over imperialism. (applause)
- Hail to the friendship between the American and Soviet peoples. (applause)
- Hail to Communism. (applause)
- Hail to Peace. (prolonged, stormy applause) (everyone stands)

TRANSLATION FROM RUSSIAN

(Translator's Note: Part of the initial paragraph is lacking. Enough of the paragraph remains, however, to ascertain that Henry Winston met V. I. Gurgal, identified as a deputy of the Supreme Soviet of the Ukraine, four years ago during the 22nd Congress of the Communist Party in Moscow. The remainder of the article deals with their recent meeting at the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The translation of the rest of the article is furnished below.)

... One of them heads the Delegation of the Fraternal Communist Party of the United States, the other is a delegate of the Congress. In a break between sessions they had a lively visit.

"Do you know, comrade Winston, that you are a member of the Youth Brigade at the Lvov Instrument Plant" says V. I. Gurgal. "I told my workers a great deal about your courageous struggle. The Youth Brigade decided to include you in their Collective. You have a permanent working place there. You fulfilled your yearly plan by 108 per cent. This was accomplished by the young men and women who are members of the Brigade."

Henry Winston was deeply moved. "This is the happiest moment of my life. It is a great honor for me to be a member of the Youth Brigade. You represent a generation which signifies for me people marching to the construction of a communist society. You are descendants of those who opened the path to freedom for nations. I consider your including me in the Brigade as, most of all, an example of profound internationalism. You have elected as member of the Brigade a man living in the citadel of imperialism. This has made me very happy, and not only myself alone. This is a sign of your recognition

TRANSLATED BY: *dm*  
THOMAS MC LAUGHLIN, JR.:ehf  
April 21, 1966

*ehf 100-428091-5469*  
ENCLOSURE



and respect for the struggle which we carry on in difficult conditions. The lessons from the experience of your people attract all nations. We rejoice over your achievements and consider them as our own."

Answering questions of the correspondent from "Izvestiya," Henry Winston stated:

"I was very happy to find out that I was to travel to the Soviet Union, that I would be a guest of the 23rd Congress. The 23rd Congress will go into history as a most famous event, since its participants are discussing and approving the great, realistic and scientifically established program for the further improvement of the well-being of the Soviet people and the further movement along the path of building a Communist society. I listened attentively to the words of comrade L. I. Brezhnev in his report which touched the most basic aspects of life among the Soviet people. I thoughtfully turned to the needs of our own people, to those great problems which still face the American people. In peace and harmony more than 150 free nationalities live in your country. Complete economical and political equality exists among them, whereas for the majority of peoples on the earth this problem has not yet been resolved. The nationality question remains a tragic problem for my country also. Each of your achievements lights the path for peoples to follow if they wish happiness, freedom and social and national equality for themselves. I am extremely happy and deeply grateful to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and to your people, that I have been given the great honor of attending this Party Congress which has already achieved great successes. Ahead of it lies a clear goal and great deeds."

V. Tarasov

Pictured above:

H. Winston and V. Gurgal.

4/13/66

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

On 4/11/66 there was received through a Solo drop box maintained in Chicago for CG 5824-S\* two air mail envelopes postmarked Moscow, USSR, and bearing the dates 4/2 and 4/4/66. Contained in the envelope postmarked 4/2/66 was a clipping of an article from "Pravda," no date of issue shown, which appears to deal with HENRY WINSTON. Also enclosed in this same envelope were two copies of a 158-page pamphlet entitled, "23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union--Report of the CPSU Central Committee by L. Brezhnev." The envelope postmarked 4/4/66 contained two clippings from "Pravda", 4/3/66, which set forth the text of three separate articles. One of these articles appears to concern itself with HENRY WINSTON and another appears to be the statement of the CP, USA regarding the 23rd Congress. The envelopes bore the handprinting of CG 5824-S\* and one clipping bore the hand-printed comment, "Hi! Pravda 4-3-66." It is the opinion of the Chicago Office that CG 5824-S\* had penned the foregoing comment for the benefit of CG 6653-S and that this was his signal to her and to the Bureau that he was well and operating.

A Xerox copy of each of the above-mentioned "Pravda" articles is being enclosed herewith for the Bureau, and it is requested that the FBI Laboratory prepare a full

③-Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago  
RWH:MDW  
(5)

*4/13/66*  
*100-134637*  
*100-134637*  
*100-134637*

CG 134-46 Sub.B

translation of each as expeditiously as possible and furnish Chicago and New York with copies thereof.

There is also enclosed herewith for the Bureau one copy of the above-described 158-page pamphlet which is being submitted for the Bureau's information and which may be retained.

DOC LAB NOTE

**ITEM (S)**  
**CAN NOT**  
**BE SCANNED**

**DESCRIPTION**

Book

76

# 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

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REPORT  
OF THE CPSU  
CENTRAL COMMITTEE

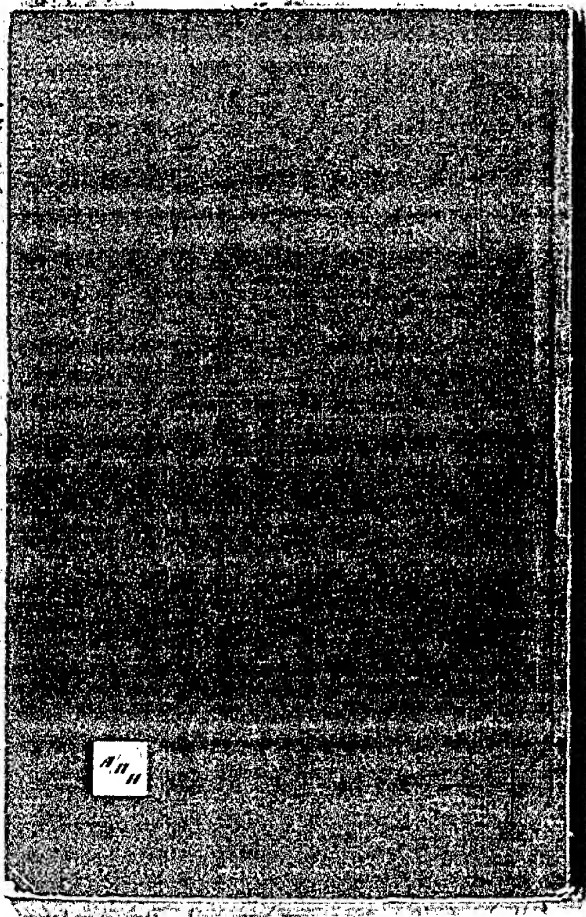
BY  
L. BREZHNEV

---

REPORT  
of the Central Committee  
of the Communist Party  
of the Soviet Union  
to the Twenty-Third Congress  
of the CPSU

Delivered by  
LEONID BREZHNEV,  
First Secretary of the CPSU  
Central Committee,  
March 29, 1966

NOVOSTI PRESS AGENCY PUBLISHING HOUSE



## F B ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 4/28/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
 IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau is one roll of motion-picture film, with French soundtrack, which was furnished to CG 5824-S\* by LE DUAN, First Secretary of the Working Peoples Party of Vietnam. This film is being forwarded to the Bureau for review and possibly for copying, pursuant to the Bureau request in reButel.

Also enclosed for the Bureau is a 2-page document written in the French language, which was enclosed in the canister containing this film. The Bureau is requested to furnish a translation of this French document to the Chicago and New York Offices.

Relative to the length of time that this film may be retained at the Bureau, CG 5824-S\* advised as follows:

On 4/27/66, CG 5824-S\* engaged in a rather short discussion with GUS HALL, General Secretary, CPUSA, at which time the source advised HALL of the existence of this film, but did not inform HALL that the film was currently in his possession. HALL was told merely that the film had been presented to the CPUSA representatives while in Moscow and that it would be coming into the U. S. shortly. GUS HALL does

- 1-90494  
 3 - Bureau (Enc. 2) (RM)  
 1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub B) (AM RM)  
 1 - New York (41)

WAB:msb  
 (6)

REC-7

EX-112

MAY 5 1966

Approved: FM  
 65 MAY 16 1966 Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_



NY 100-134637

not care to know the manner in which CG 5824-S\* is able to effect the entry of such materials into the U. S. In light of these circumstances, and in light of the fact that the other CPUSA delegates to the 23rd CPSU Congress will be returning to the U. S. beginning about May 3, 1966, and thereafter, a judicious and reasonable period of retention by the Bureau would probably be about one week. Upon conclusion of the Bureau's processing of this film, it is requested that it be returned to the Chicago Office, where it is believed CG 5824-S\* will have returned by that time.

TRANSLATION FROM FRENCH

Quynhlap, remember well this name. If ever you hear Johnson or any other Washington leader boasting of their humanitarian sentiments or talking about the thousand and one aid projects that they are ready to carry out for the abject populace of Asia, then think of Quynhlap.

One hundred twenty quite pretty pavilions, with flower gardens, surrounded by a beautiful bay which the winds of the Pacific refresh daily, this was Quynhlap, one of the prettiest sites in North Vietnam. Before 1957, there was only wild underbrush there. To use a Vietnamese expression: "one only heard the monkeys chatter and the storks screech." When Socialism came to North Vietnam it made Quynhlap a pretty city.

Was it a resort center for the vacations of high-ranking officers? Not at all. The new regime concentrates its efforts on giving top priority to those most impoverished. Thousands of lepers used to wander through the country, abandoned by their families, condemned because of the holy terror that their illness inspired. For the lepers of North Vietnam, Quynhlap became a land of hope. Two thousand sick were cared for there with the most modern methods. When they were almost healed they went to learn a trade so that they could return to society. The sick found a pleasant staff, doctors and devoted personnel, and a fraternal community. Quynhlap was also a center for important scientific research and studies in association with the Tuberculosis Institute of Hanoi, since the tuberculosis and leprosy germs are of the same family. The Democratic Republic of Vietnam can be justly proud of having created the most important center for lepers in Southeast Asia within a few short years, even though the country is still quite poor.

Today, Quynhlap is nothing more than a mass of ruins. From June 13th through 15th, in ten successive waves, airplanes of the Seventh Fleet destroyed this pretty site. Scenes from the Apocalypse occurred there: the sick were hurled into the air by bomb explosions because they were not able to make it to the woods. In the later raids surgeons and their patients were destroyed together and buried along with the victims of the first raids, horribly mutilated. There were almost 200 dead and wounded. This was the tally.

TRANSLATED BY:

THOMAS MC LAUGHLIN, JR:pbs  
May 3, 1966

2cc to MFC 66-575/66

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5475

2165-444

100-428091

There was no chance of any possible error. Quynhlap is set apart from any main point or communication center. U. S. leaders boast of having photographed the territory of North Vietnam inch by inch, and of being able to spot the smallest trench. Quynhlap, with 120 pavilions spread over a large area, was easily discernable. There was even less chance of error there since the American planes returned there ten times within three days. Without a doubt, the American Air Force had been given the mission to destroy Quynhlap.

During these same three days, U. S. planes also destroyed rest centers for the aged in the province of Thanhhoa and a sanatorium in ✓ Badon (Quangbinh), North Vietnam.

The American Air Force is systematically undertaking the destruction of all that has been built under the new regime: electric power stations, factories, schools and hospitals. These monstrous projects are cynically outlined in American newspapers.

For the people of the world, Quynhlap should be a notice, just like Guernica. When we say that the imperialist yankees do not shrink before any crime, it is not just a simple formula of propaganda. Remember well this name, Quynhlap. Act before it is too late, so that other Quynhlaps in other countries are not added to an already over-extended list.

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 4/29/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED  
(Priority)

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
 IS - C

Re New York teletype 4/28/66, containing summary of information furnished by CG 5824-S\* relative to the 20th SOLO Mission.

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for Chicago one copy, of LHM entitled, "The Splitting Activities Of The Communist Party Of China Leadership In The World Communist Movement." The information in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished on 4/25-28/66 by CG 5824-S\* to Special Agents RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE.

The enclosed LHM has been classified ~~Top Secret~~ since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the International Communist Movement thus adversely affecting the national security. To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been made at Washington, D.C.

Relative to the document referred to herein, CG 5824-S\* furnished the following additional information:

The day before the opening of the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) held in Moscow, USSR, 3/29-4/8/66, CG 5824-S\* was contacted by a representative of the

- ③ 1-904 942 with 1 encl EX-118-21  
 1 - Bureau (Enc-4) (RM)  
 1 - Chicago (Enc-1) (134-46-Sub B)  
 1 - New York #41

RWH:IM  
 (6)

6 MAY 5 1966

Approved: *[Signature]*  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent *[Signature]* M Per *[Signature]*

65 MAY 13 1966

NY 100-134637

International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU who furnished to him copies of ten documents on topics of interest to the International Communist Movement. CG 5824-S\* was instructed to circulate them among the CPUSA delegates to the Congress and was made responsible for their safekeeping and return. These documents were characterized as highly confidential and were to be kept under lock and key and were not to be discussed with other delegates to the Congress. Each copy was to be strictly accounted for including the name of each individual who read them. CG 5824-S\* at various times had possession of each of these documents throughout the period of the Congress. Due to the pressure of attendance at the Congress and other meetings during breaks and after sessions of the Congress, CG 5824-S\* was able to peruse these documents only during the early morning hours before retiring. Thus his notes, while giving the complete essence of these documents, are not exact copies of these documents. In a few instances, CG 5824-S\* noted that they did not contain any additional information beyond what is available in the Western press and therefore he made no notes on them and will furnish no information concerning them other than the title of the document. CG 5824-S\* advised that although the CPSU was highly secretive relative to the documents, nonetheless he is positive that these documents were also circulated among numerous other delegations, however, as of this date, CG 5824-S\* is the only source in the United States who saw the documents and thus a high security classification is necessary.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
Washington, D. C.

April 29, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

Communist Party, Soviet Union  
Document Entitled "The Splitting  
Activities Of The Communist Party  
Of China Leadership In The World  
Communist Movement"

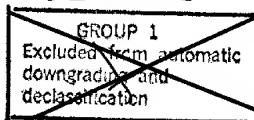
A source, who has supplied reliable information in  
the past, during April, 1966, advised as follows:

During March and April, 1966, fraternal delegations  
to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union  
(CPSU) held in Moscow, U.S.S.R., from March 29th to April 8, 1966,  
were provided for their review and return a 21-page document  
entitled, "The Splitting Activities Of The Communist Party Of  
China Leadership In The World Communist Movement." The CPSU  
cautioned that this document was highly secret and was not to  
be discussed with anyone else. The essence of this document  
was as follows:

Having failed to impose its views and political attitudes  
upon the World Communist Movement, the leadership of the Communist  
Party of China (CPC) launched far flung activities against the  
Marxist-Leninist Parties. This action of the CPC leadership is  
doing serious harm to the peoples' struggle against imperialism  
and colonialism, the struggle for peace, the fight for democracy,  
the movement for national liberation and the ultimate goal of  
socialism. The splitting policy pursued by the CPC leadership  
is weakening the socialist system, the main bulwark in the peoples'  
struggle against imperialism and reaction. In effect, the Chinese  
leaders are stabbing the socialist camp in the back and encouraging  
the imperialist aggressors to undertake armed ventures against  
individual socialist states.

~~TOP SECRET~~

THIS DOCUMENT CONTAINS NEITHER  
RECOMMENDATIONS NOR CONCLUSIONS  
OF THE FBI. IT IS THE PROPERTY  
OF THE FBI AND IS LOANED TO YOUR  
AGENCY; IT AND ITS CONTENTS ARE  
NOT TO BE DISTRIBUTED OUTSIDE  
YOUR AGENCY.



ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5471

Communist Party, Soviet Union  
Document Entitled "The Splitting  
Activities Of The Communist Party Of  
China Leadership In The World  
Communist Movement"

~~TOP SECRET~~

The leaders of the CPC are injecting disharmony into the whole Communist movement by their active factional activities. Their activities are doing particularly great harm to the smaller Communist Parties and to those Communist Parties working in an underground status.

The internal political practices of the CPC leaders and their adventurous foreign policy is casting a shadow on socialism and undermining its prestige in the eyes of the world democratic public and in the eyes of the masses of the people. The actions of the Chinese leaders supply vast amounts of material for anti-Communist propaganda to the class enemy. Anti-Communist propaganda is making the most of the fact that the Peoples Republic of China (PRC), a socialist state, extols war, supports the nuclear arms race, and contributes to the international tensions. Immense harm is being done by the various statements of the Chinese theorists who describe concern for the peoples' welfare as a return to bourgeois ways and come out openly against democracy, freedom and humanism.

The distinctly nationalist propaganda of the CPC leadership prejudices the Marxist-Leninist thesis about the incompatibility of socialism and nationalism, the absence of objective causes for national discord between the socialist countries and the disappearance of national aggressions once class aggressions are wiped out. The CPC's essentially revisionist and vulgar Marxist-Leninist theory obstructs the spread of genuine socialist ideas and creates confusion among those Asian, African and Latin American leaders who lack a theoretical grounding but who are sincerely gravitating towards Marxism-Leninism. The employment by the CPC leadership of their vast governmental and propaganda machinery to impose their policies abroad, their unabashed use of all possible means, often causes serious setbacks in the work of various progressive movements. The CPC line also undermines the foundations of democratic international organizations. The external clashes and debates which the Chinese delegates organize at these conferences and other international functions paralyze the work of these groups. The sectarian methods which have been injected by the Chinese delegates into the work of these organizations has robbed the organizations of their mass basis.

To vindicate their theory, the Chinese refer to statements of Marxist-Leninist classics and to old pre-dated material not valid since the Second International. The material they use has nothing in common with the contemporary situation. They take advantage of the fact that Communist Parties today operate under different conditions and are preoccupied with different tasks which require employment of different forms of struggle and different solution to problems.

Communist Party, Soviet Union  
Document Entitled "The Splitting  
Activities Of The Communist Party  
Of China Leadership In The World  
Communist Movement"

~~TOP SECRET~~

The Chinese print pamphlets in different languages and distribute such material in order to disrupt the Communist movement all over the world. Chinese diplomatic and trade missions in various countries throughout the world are being used extensively for disruptive purposes. Chinese officials employ the services of capitalist publishing firms to distribute their schismatic material. In their subversive work against the Communist movement, Chinese officials enter into contacts with parties hostile to the existing Communist Parties. In particular they use Trotskyites and even work with police agencies. In some countries Chinese propaganda material is being mailed to addresses which could only be obtained from the police. The splitting activities of the CPC leaders and their propaganda activities against the Marxist-Leninist Parties are designed to promote the nationalist ambitions of the Chinese leaders and are impregnated most deplorably with the Mao Tse-tung personality cult.

The substance of the CPC's ambition was defined candidly by Mao Tse-tung himself. In the course of several dozen years, he declared, "Moscow has been the center of the world revolution. Now the Soviet Government has betrayed the world revolution and the center has shifted to Peking. The Communist Party of China and the Chinese Government are now confronted with the big task of showing the way to the revolutionaries of the whole world and of serving as an example."

The Chinese leaders are aware that the CPSU is an obstacle in their path and are therefore aiming the main blow at the CPSU and the Soviet Union. Mao Tse-tung said, "You have to hit at the head and the rest will fall to pieces by itself."

Day after day CPC propaganda describes the Soviet Union as in collusion with American imperialism. The CPC obstructs our foreign policy in order to prejudice Soviet-American relations, to embroil the Soviet Union in quarrels with all other countries, to subordinate Soviet foreign policy to Peking's interest and to isolate the U.S.S.R. They interfere in the affairs of the

~~TOP SECRET~~



Communist Party, Soviet Union  
Document Entitled "The Splitting  
Activities Of The Communist Party  
Of China Leadership In The World  
Communist Movement"

~~TOP SECRET~~

CPSU and the Soviet state with the aim in mind of disposing of our leadership. They are working for a radical change in the CPSU and U.S.S.R., leadership in order to get a repudiation of the decisions of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU and our Party program.

Recently the Chinese leadership adopted a decision to normalize relations with all socialist countries except the Soviet Union. They did this in order to concentrate all of their forces for the struggle against the CPSU and the U.S.S.R. The Chinese leaders kindle the nationalist spirit and offer economic inducements to other socialist countries in order to prejudice them against the CPSU and other fraternal countries. The Chinese interfere in the internal affairs of other European socialist states. In fact, the Chinese are trying to enlist agents in the socialist countries.

The splitting activities of the CPC leaders deeply affect the interests of all fraternal parties and the liberation movement. Anti-Party splinter groups have appeared in many capitalist countries through the intervention and efforts of the CPC leadership. There are groups of this kind in more than thirty countries today. In some cases such groups consist of no more than several dozen people. However, most of these people are expelled and discredited former Party people. Some of these individuals are lining their pockets out of funds allocated by the CPC leaders for disruptive purposes. These groups do a lot of dirty work. They obstruct elections like in France. In Belgium, J. Grippa's group participated in fights and in killing and assassination of Comrade Marcel Sayes. In Colombia, the splinter group opened a luxury store and brothel to finance their revolutionary work and they also organized raids against the peasants to finance their work.

These splinter groups have been given extensive publicity in the Peking press. The imperialist reactionaries are making the most of this. The bourgeoisie press gives publicity freely to these splitters. The splitters also work in many cases with the authorities. This splitting and factionalism causes harm to the World Communist Movement and undermines proletarian internationalism and encourages adventurism.

There are classic examples of the experience of such adventurism in the Communist Parties of Burma, Malaya, and the

Communist Party, Soviet Union  
Document Entitled "The Splitting  
Activities Of The Communist Party  
Of China Leadership In The World  
Communist Movement"

~~TOP SECRET~~

Philippines. These Parties were at one time strong but in 1948 the Chinese wanted to guarantee their flanks which would make it easier for them to seize power in China. They prevailed on these Parties in question to resume armed struggle although the Japanese had been defeated. As a result many Communist Parties were crushed. Many steeled revolutionaries lost their lives and the Parties themselves became politically isolated. In Burma, for example, the Party decreased from 30,000 to 3,000. The Party in the Philippines virtually disappeared. To this day, the Communist Party of Burma refuses to come out of the jungle and take advantage of the possibilities to assist in the building of a new Burma along non-capitalist lines and work with revolutionary democrats.

In 1954, the CPSU with the help of the Chinese, set the Malayan Communist Party on the correct path, that is, legal forms of struggle, etc. But later the CPC leadership departed from this agreement and expanded arms struggle in the Southeast Asian countries. The developments in Indonesia are also classic evidence of what this CPC policy leads to. In 1948, the Indonesian Communist Party (ICP) first experienced the consequences of Chinese policy when they were goaded by the Chinese. The ICP at the time concentrated on armed seizure of power without appropriate conditions and this culminated in painful defeat. At that time also the CPSU had warned in a comradely way that the ICP should not try to imitate the CPC. They listened after the defeat and for a while took things to heart. But once again the CPC leaders interfered in the affairs of the ICP and saddled that Party with its own concepts. In 1965, when the ICP delegation headed by Dipa N. Aidit, their General Secretary, came to the Soviet Union, the Central Committee of the CPSU again seriously warned the Indonesian comrades that their policy would weaken the anti-imperialist forces in their country and undermine the possibility of united action in repelling the imperialist forces. They were also warned at the time that under the circumstances presently existing domestic reaction may avail itself of some propitious moment to deliver a blow against the Indonesian revolutionary forces, including their own Party. However, this friendly warning was ignored.

~~TOP SECRET~~

Communist Party, Soviet Union  
Document Entitled "The Splitting  
Activities Of The Communist Party  
Of China Leadership In The World  
Communist Movement"

~~TOP SECRET~~

The CPC is presently exercising deplorable influence upon the Japanese Communist Parties. The Communist Party of Japan (CPJ) was urged in the early 1950's by Peking to resort to armed struggle. The core of that Party's leadership, which included Sanzo Nosaka, Satomi Hakomada and others of the present leadership, travelled to China. After their return to Japan their ideology shifted to that of Peking. Only those with Peking ties were taken into the leadership even if proven unreliable. This is an example of the theories of the CPJ: "The organized working class employed in large scale industry is more susceptible to revisionism and economism, just as in the more developed countries." This can only lead to the conclusion that the CPJ must face the peasantry and the town people. As a result the CPJ began to shed its fetters as a proletarian party and today peasants, petty bourgeoisie and petty proprietors predominate its ranks. The CPJ's vanguard role in the labor movement fell to the Socialist Party when that group filled the vacuum.

In 1963, the CPSU proposed a meeting with the CPJ. When that meeting finally did take place in March, 1964, there were no results. The CPJ leadership, together with China, refused to normalize relations with the CPSU.

The Chinese leadership today is trying to involve the U.S.S.R., in direct conflict with the United States in Viet Nam just as they attempted to do at the time of the Caribbean crisis. The Chinese want to be, just as the capitalist press describes them, a happy bystander. The Chinese are ready to fight to the last Soviet and American soldier.

The CPC makes use of Chinese nationals in Southeast Asia where there are sixteen million such people living abroad. As a rule these people are exploiters or large and small proprietors and not proletarians.

A large part of the leadership of the Communist Parties of Burma, Indonesia, Malaya and New Zealand permanently reside in Peking where hothouse fronts have been formed.

Imperialism profits from all of the splitting activities.

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Communist Party, Soviet Union  
Document Entitled "The Splitting  
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Communist Movement"

~~TOP SECRET~~

The CPC has considerable achievements to its credit in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal struggle. The Chinese revolution was a big blow at the imperialist posture. But even during the revolution the Chinese made petty bourgeois mistakes. In China at that time feudal or semi-feudal conditions survived and there were no democratic traditions in China. In 1945, the CPC admitted that petty bourgeoisie were numerous and influential in their Party. Also in China before that time there had been imperialist oppression and in their earlier history Mongol and Manchu conquests. This had developed and left in China strong national sentiments. The overseas imperialist had injured the national dignity of China and fired the nationalist feelings of its people. The CPC had a weak proletarian base and its cadre were mainly from the petty bourgeoisie, the kulaks, landlord intellectuals and students. The bulk of the Party membership consisted of peasants and this left a distinct mark on the views of the Chinese leaders. In the material from the 7th Extended Plenum of the Central Committee, CPC, held in April, 1945, there was reference to the above and a warning was issued at that time that the petty bourgeoisie would unquestionably attempt to alter the image of the Party and that instead of becoming proletarian it would be in the likeness of the petty bourgeoisie and thus damage the cause of the Party and the people.

The CPC always seeks to justify its bellicose declarations. The CPC leadership has a theory first published January 30, 1965, in a Jen Min Jih Pao editorial which states, "A state always perishes if it is not strengthened from the outside by an enemy state." Chen Yi, Foreign Minister of the Peoples Republic of China, and a member of the Politburo, Central Committee, CPC, welcomes war and states that the Chinese are ready for United States imperialism.

In the CPC there is constant emphasis on the personality cult around Mao Tse-tung. Everyone takes an oath in front of a portrait of Mao Tse-tung when they join the CPC. At every meeting there are three bows to the leader before and after that meeting. This personality cult has prompted the rejection of

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Document Entitled "The Splitting  
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Communist Movement"

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Marxism-Leninism and become the standard of Party life. The implications of the cult are unlimited. The cult makes no distinction between the possible and the impossible, the sensible and the absurd. The cult is not content to stay within the national boundaries. The aura of divine wisdom and infallibility created around the cult nourishes the thirst to be the ruler of the world.

It is important to see the objectivity of the leading nucleus of the CPC in order to understand it correctly and assess its present policies. Since the Party was established there has been constant struggle between the nationalist and internationalist tendencies. The present leadership of the CPC places the interest of the national revolution in China against the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R. The CPC has always striven, even in the days of the Comintern, to concentrate its activities in order that they serve the Chinese revolution. Li-Sen confessed that in 1930 when he was a Secretary of the Central Committee, CPC, he was ready and thought it fitting "to sacrifice the Soviet Union" for the sake of this, the national revolution. Most of the leaders sympathetic to the U.S.S.R., were killed by the Kuomintang and therefore Mao Tse-tung's present cadre was trained in the national war against the Japanese. Mao Tse-tung is now ready to oppose "foreign views," including the Soviet Union. In the 1940's there was a campaign that drove out all pro-Soviet leaders in the CPC and a wholesale persecution of "Moscow followers" or those who had ties with the Comintern. All of those individuals who studied or visited in the U.S.S.R., were compelled to "repent" and condemn the Comintern dogmatism. They charged at that time that the U.S.S.R., allegedly reared Chinese into foreign lackeys of the compradore type. There is considerable evidence of murder and torture, blackmail and intimidation as having been employed in the internal struggle to destroy or discredit honest Communist Party leaders at that time.

Key positions in the Army were interlocked with key positions in the CPC because of the continuous wars of the 1930's and 1940's.

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Communist Party, Soviet Union  
Document Entitled "The Splitting  
Activities Of The Communist Party  
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Communist Movement"

~~TOP SECRET~~

Purges in China during the last few years pursued the same line in order to get rid of honest, genuine Party leaders. Ideologically the CPC stresses that the ideas of Mao Tse-tung are the supreme embodiment of Marxism-Leninism; that our time is the epic of Mao Tse-tung and his teaching is the most correct, most consistent Marxism-Leninism of the contemporary epic; that the books of Chairman Mao Tse-tung are the best manuals of Marxism-Leninism and that the fate of the world revolution and all mankind depend on the ideas of Mao Tse-tung. They are substituting Mao Tse-tungism for Marxism-Leninism. Marx and Lenin are used only to show that Mao Tse-tung is correct.

The Communist Parties in the world have never been up against such an organized campaign of subversion on such an enormous scale. Here is a Communist Party holding power in a government spearheading its efforts against all other Marxism-Leninism Parties.

We have overcome difficulties in the past and will surmount these while maintaining our fundamental position aimed at normalizing relations with the CPC and PRC. We will also refrain from actions that might prejudice the unity of the World Communist Movement but at the same time we are prepared to take measures against the splitting policy of the CPC leadership and its attempts to distort basic Marxism-Leninism principles.

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 4/30/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
 FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
 SUBJECT: SOLO  
 IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of an LHM entitled, "Soviet-Chinese Relations and the Measures Taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to Normalize Them."

The information in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished on 4/25-28/66, by CG 5824-S\*, to SAS RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE.

The enclosed LHM has been classified "~~Top Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international Communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared in Washington, D. C.

Relative to the document referred to herein, CG 5824-S\* furnished the following additional information:

- ③ - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)  
 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (RM)  
 1 - Chicago

WAB/mes  
 (5)

Dissemin. REC 27 100-428091-5472  
 WAB, KKK, H. L. W. G.  
 NIC, R. B. W. G. AF 5-1-66  
 5-5-66

6 MAY 5 1966

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_ Sent: \_\_\_\_\_ M Per: \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

65 MAY 1966

CG 134-46 Sub B

The day before the 23rd Congress of the CPSU held in Moscow, USSR, 3/29 - 4/8/66, CG 5824-S\* was contacted by a representative of the International Department, Central Committee, CPSU, who furnished to him copies of 10 documents on topics of interest to the international Communist movement. CG 5824-S\* was instructed to circulate them among the CPUSA delegates to the Congress and was made responsible for their safe keeping and return. These documents were characterized as highly confidential and were to be kept under lock and key and were not to be discussed with other delegates to the Congress. Each copy was to be strictly accounted for, including the name of each individual who read them. CG 5824-S\* at various times had possession of each of these documents from that date and throughout the period of the Congress. Due to the pressure of attendance at the Congress and other meetings during breaks and after sessions of the Congress, CG 5824-S\* was able to peruse these documents only during the early morning hours before retiring. Thus his notes, while giving the complete essence of these documents, are not exact copies of these documents. CG 5824-S\* advised that although the CPSU was highly secretive regarding these documents, nonetheless he is positive that these documents were also circulated among numerous other delegations. However, as of this date, he is the only source in the US who saw the documents and thus a high security classification is necessary.





UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D.C.

April 30, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

Re: Soviet-Chinese Relations and the  
Measures Taken by the Communist Party  
of the Soviet Union to Normalize Them

During April, 1966, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

During March and April, 1966, fraternal delegates to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union held in Moscow, USSR, from March 29 through April 8, 1966, were being furnished for their review and return a 23 page document entitled, "Soviet-Chinese Relations and the Measures Taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to Normalize Them". The Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) cautioned that this document was highly secret and must not be discussed with anyone else. The essence of this document is as follows:

The CPSU has made many approaches to the Communist Party of China (CPC) in an effort to normalize relations between these two Parties and countries. These efforts have been going on for a long time and only more recent efforts will be mentioned here, such as our approaches in February, 1964 and October, 1964 etc.

As a result of the CPSU's invitation to the CPC to attend the 47th Anniversary of the October Revolution from November 8th to 12th, 1964, Chou En-lai, Premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China (PRC) and a member of the Political Bureau (PB), Central Committee, CPC, and Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CC, CPSU, held serious talks. The CPC was told that while the CPSU is working for the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations, the CPSU would never give up its principled stand as defined by the decisions and resolutions of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU and the CPSU program, and that the CPSU would never deviate from the general course of the international communist movement. The

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recommendations nor conclusions  
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agency; it and its contents are  
not to be distributed outside  
your agency.

100-428091-5472

Soviet-Chinese Relations and the  
Measures Taken by the Communist Party  
of the Soviet Union to Normalize Them

~~TOP SECRET~~

Soviet Union would not adopt a reckless path in foreign policy, and would not abandon the struggle to prevent a world nuclear-rocket war. Nor could there be any question of our Party's folding up the plans for Communist construction, development of democracy and raising the standard of living of the Soviet people. Every proposal by the CPSU was rejected by the CPC. Our suggestion of bilateral talks, either open or closed, drew no response from the CPC.

In February, 1965, Premier Alexei N. Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and member of the PB, CC, CPSU, was in Peking. He found the Chinese leaders irreconcilable. Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the CC, CPC, made cohesion between the CPSU and the CPC - and between all fraternal parties - directly contingent on the aggravation of international tensions and the outbreak of war. He said, "in ten to fifteen years when the imperialists attack, war will unite us again". The split has to go on, Mao told the Soviet Union's delegation in Peking. He also refused to stop open polemics saying, "there is nothing to fear from them. They will continue for another ten thousand years". He also said that the CPSU proposal for a comradely, business-like discussion of outstanding issues was "unsavory". All suggestions for bilateral talks were rejected with the phrase, "the time is not yet ripe". The CPC avoided and refused to discuss questions of developing Soviet-Chinese interstate relations. They also opposed the March 1, 1965 consultative meeting or any meeting of world parties for many years. These contacts confirmed that the CPC leaders continue to stick to their erroneous platform on the CPSU and other world parties.

We also made proposals in March, 1965, that Chen Yi, Foreign Affairs Minister of the PRC and a member of the PB, CC, CPSU, visit Moscow on his flight across Soviet territory to Afghanistan. A similar proposal was made to Liu Din-yi, Deputy Premier of the State Council of the PRC and Secretary of the CC, CPC, where he was in transit to the German Democratic Republic via the Soviet Union in May, 1965. We did the same with Teng Hsiao-ping, General Secretary

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of the Soviet Union to Normalize Them

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of the CC, CPC, and Deputy Premier of the State Council, PRC, when he was on the way to Bucharest for the 9th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party in July, 1965. A Chinese delegation was invited to our celebration of the 20th anniversary of victory over fascist Germany.

The Chinese leaders, however, refused to accept these invitations and clearly avoided contact with us. The Party and Government delegation of the CPC and PRC went to the funeral of Comrade Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej, deceased First Secretary of the CC of the Romanian Party, not via the Soviet Union as had been the practice in the past, but via capitalist countries, avoiding Moscow deliberately. Even in Bucharest, Chou En-lai refused to see Comrade Anastas I. Mikoyan, then a member of the Presidium of the CC, CPSU, and a First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR.

Our proposals to the PRC to cooperate in foreign affairs were refused. When the Soviet Union unilaterally gave them confidential, important information, they used this to attack the Soviet Union and the CPSU. The PRC was invited to join the USSR in the exploration of outer space, but the Chinese Government turned this down. They also refused to join five socialist states in joint oceanological research in the Pacific Ocean or to extend an agreement which expires in 1966. The same situation prevails in the Pakistan dispute: they refused to join this action for peace, but instead intensified friction. On the Sino-Indian border, our proposal to normalize Sino-Indian relations was rebuffed, by the Chinese.

Vietnam is the most graphic example of this situation. The Chinese refuse cooperation. Mao said, "the people of South Vietnam are doing a fine job fighting without us". Regarding the United States bombing of North Vietnam, Mao said, "they are American stupidities. Their bombings have caused only a small loss of life," and that, "there is nothing terrible in the death of a number of people". They have refused to allow Soviet flights over the PRC with supplies

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for North Vietnam and charge Soviet "betrayal" of Vietnam for proposing negotiations with United States imperialism without preliminary conditions.

The Working People's Party of Vietnam and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam proposed a joint meeting of the USSR, PRC and DRV in April, 1965, but this too was refused by the PRC despite the urgency of the situation at that time. The Chinese reply on July 14, 1965, was an attack against pooling efforts for the defense of Vietnam. The Chinese said, "only when the differences are resolved will it be possible to speak of joint action". They said, "not now". The Chinese also charged the Soviet Union with appeasement or "following a line of Soviet-American cooperation to dominate the world."

Of late, the Chinese are discouraging transit shipments of aid to Vietnam from the Soviet Union by land to Vietnam. They want to encourage the conflict and worsen both the military and the economic position of Vietnam. The Chinese leaders want to embroil the Soviet Union in a military conflict with the United States and to further this overall policy want to force Soviet ships with supplies for Vietnam into direct confrontation with United States military forces.

Recently the CPC leaders have started to foist on the European socialist countries their thesis that to render effective aid to the Vietnamese people and the struggle against United States imperialism they must create a seat of war in Europe.

The visits of Chen Yi and Chou En-lai to Asian and African states were marked by attacks on the USSR. The Chinese have refused our offer to develop economic, scientific and cultural cooperation. The PRC leaders have steadily curtailed economic cooperation with the USSR. On the initiative of the Chinese side, deliveries to China of Soviet industrial plants in complete sets were cut from 359 million rubles in 1959 to six million rubles in 1965, or by more than 98 per cent.

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Measures Taken by the Communist Party  
of the Soviet Union to Normalize Them

~~TOP SECRET~~

In April, 1965, the PRC unilaterally abrogated the agreements it concluded with the USSR in 1961-62, which provided for the building of 66 large industrial projects. Scientific cooperation dropped to a fraction of one per cent.

Trade in 1965 between the PRC and the USSR increased only by five per cent as compared with 1964, to bring it up to 420 million rubles. This is because we took products we really did not need, while the Chinese refused 20 out of 23 types of goods we requested from them in order to increase trade. Cultural relations also are almost zero. USSR delegations in this area have been turned down, but the Chinese abuse the hospitality of the USSR and have been engaged in harmful anti-Soviet work. Chinese leaders continue border provocation that froze the Soviet proposal in January, 1965, to discuss border questions. Instead the Chinese charge that the Soviet Union supposedly "had seized from China about 1.5 million square kilometers of her territory." Chen Yi and Mao have said this both openly and otherwise.

On maps issued in China in 1965, a number of sections of the Soviet-Chinese border were designated as "unestablished borderline" and the Chinese names of the cities of Khabarovsk, Blagoveshchensk and Vladivostok were given in brackets. The Atlas of the PRC issued in July, 1965, was put on sale in Peking last January. It differs from the preceeding editions in that the statement "the Amur (River) is the natural borderline between China and the USSR" is deleted from the explanatory text to the map of Heilungkiang Province.

Through the fault of the Chinese side, tension has mounted on their border with the USSR. Chinese authorities are engineering the seizure of sections of Soviet territory, organizing unauthorized farming and other work on these lands and are encouraging Chinese citizens and servicemen to insult Soviet border guards. According to reports of the Primorye Territory Committee of the CPSU, various military measures and tactical exercises involving firing practice with the participation of artillery and tanks have been conducted in Chinese areas adjacent to the borders of the USSR since the Autumn of 1965.

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Soviet-Chinese Relations and the  
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The population in China is systematically brainwashed in an anti-Soviet spirit. The Chinese people are being conditioned for the possibility of a full break and even armed conflict with the Soviet Union, which is the "chief enemy." The CPC press and radio are frantic about the "threat from the North." The Chinese are now holding anti-Soviet mass meetings. On March 6, 1965, for the first time in the history of socialist countries, such a demonstration was held in front of the Soviet Embassy in Peking. The Chinese are making anti-Soviet broadcasts in Russian, urging Soviet citizens "to rise up in struggle against the CC of the CPSU and against the Soviet Government."

As the 23rd Congress of the CPSU drew nearer, this type of propaganda increased. The CPC gave a "rebuff to the perorations of the new CPSU leadership on unity of action." They said that the CPC and the CPSU "have what divides them, and lack what unites them; have what sets them apart and lack anything in common." These articles of attack on the CPSU are increasing.

In November, 1965, the CC, CPSU, sent Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the CC, CPC, a letter voicing concern over the articles being published by the CPC. In reply to this comradely letter, the CPC, on January 7, 1966, sent to the CC, CPSU, a letter of an openly hostile character and insult. They charged that the CPSU was "already outside the ranks of Marxism-Leninism." They reiterated their thesis that there is nothing between our Parties that would unite us.

In January, 1966, when our delegation headed by Aleksandr N. Shelepin, member of the PB and a Secretary of the CC, CPSU, visited the DRV, he stopped over in Peking and made another attempt to continue contact with the CPC. But the top CPC leaders evaded contact with him. But the lower leaders of the CC, CPC, who met Shelepin were told of the need to eliminate differences. But this time also the Chinese leaders rejected our proposal for joint efforts to fight imperialism and aggression, particularly in Vietnam.

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Measures Taken by the Communist Party  
of the Soviet Union to Normalize Them

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Last February the Soviet Union observed the 16th anniversary of the Soviet-Chinese Treaty. We stressed our country's desire to strengthen Soviet-Chinese relations and to eliminate differences. But in China this occasion was marked once again by increased anti-Soviet propaganda. Once again we displayed our good will by inviting them to our 23rd Congress. But the CPC in its letter of reply to the CPSU on March 22, 1966, refused to send a delegation to the Congress.

Notwithstanding this latest unfriendly act of the Chinese leaders, the CPSU, guided by the principles of the revolutionary struggles of the peoples, including the peoples of China, will continue to work for an improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations and undeviatingly follow the line of consolidating the solidarity of the socialist community, of the entire world Communist movement.

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## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

F B I

Date: April 30, 1966

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION DOCUMENT ENTITLED 'STEPS TAKEN BY COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION TO STRENGTHEN THE UNITY OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT.' "

The information in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished 4/25-29/66 by CG 5824-S\* to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE.

The enclosed LHM has been classified ~~top secret~~ since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the International Communist Movement and thus adversely effect the national security. To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been made at Washington, D.C.

Relative to the document referred to herein, CG 5824-S\* furnished the following additional information:

The day before the opening of the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) held in Moscow, U.S.S.R. 3/29-4/8/66, CG 5824-S\* was contacted by

- 1-104 440 w/1 encl. **EX-110** REC-7 100-428011-5473
- 3- Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

RWH/vmm

(5)

FJB w/1 encl.

G MAY 5 1966

Approved: *[Signature]*  
Special Agent in ChargeSent *10:11* M Per *[Signature]*

65 MAY 13 1966



CG 134-46 Sub B

a representative of the International Department of the Central Committee, CPSU, who furnished him with a number of documents on topics of interest to the International Communist Movement. The source was instructed to circulate the documents among the CP, USA fraternal delegates to the Congress and was given the responsibility for the documents' safe keeping and return. The documents were characterized by the Russians as highly confidential and were to be kept under lock and key and not discussed with other delegates to the Congress. Each copy was to be strictly accounted for and the name of each individual who read them was to be noted. CG 5824-S\* at various times had possession of each of these documents during the course of the Congress. Due to the pressure of attendance at the Congress and other meetings, CG 5824-S\* was able to peruse the documents only during early morning hours before retiring. Thus the notes, while giving the complete essence, are not exact copies of the documents. Source advised that although the CPSU was highly secretive relative to the documents, nonetheless he is positive that the documents were also circulated among other delegations, however, as of the present date CG 5824-S\* is the only source in the United States who saw the documents and thus a high security classification is necessary.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.  
April 30, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION  
DOCUMENT ENTITLED "STEPS TAKEN BY  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION  
TO STRENGTHEN THE UNITY OF THE WORLD  
COMMUNIST MOVEMENT"

A source, who has supplied reliable information  
in the past, during April, 1966, advised as follows:

During March and April, 1966, fraternal delegations  
to the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet  
Union (CPSU) held in Moscow, USSR, from March 29 to April 8,  
1966, were provided for their review and return a 12-page  
document entitled, "Steps Taken by Communist Party of the  
Soviet Union to Strengthen the Unity of the World Communist  
Movement." The CPSU cautioned that this document was highly  
secret and not to be discussed with anyone else. The essence  
of this document was as follows:

The Central Committee, CPSU, supports the recom-  
mendations of the March, 1965, Consultative Meeting to con-  
vene another world conference of Communist and Workers'  
Parties at a suitable time. Our Party regards this conference  
as the culminating stage of extensive work aimed at promoting  
the ideological and political cohesion of the communist move-  
ment. In the opinion of the CPSU, this conference is called  
upon to build a principled foundation for the further advance  
of the world communist movement. The question of convening  
a world conference may be only decided by the collective  
effort and by taking the concrete situation into account.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5473

CPSU DOCUMENT ENTITLED "STEPS TAKEN BY  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION TO  
STRENGTHEN THE UNITY OF THE WORLD  
COMMUNIST MOVEMENT"

~~TOP SECRET~~

On two occasions our Party has proposed that delegates of three Parties--the Working Peoples' Party of Viet Nam, the CPSU, and the Communist Party of China--should get together and meet for a joint discussion on measures which could be taken to safeguard the security of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam, but our proposals, though approved by the Political Bureau of the Working Peoples' Party of Viet Nam, were rejected by the Chinese leadership.

The CPSU has also tried to work with the Albanian Party of Labor (APL). On at least half a dozen occasions our Party has directed communications dealing with matters of cooperation to the APL; however, the Albanians did not see fit to answer any of them.

Since October, 1964, the Central Committee, CPSU, has received over 100 delegations and representatives from nearly 50 Communist Parties in the non-socialist countries. During this same period over 24 CPSU delegations have gone abroad in order to participate in the work of such fraternal Parties and to attend their congresses and similar events. This was done in order to compare notes and our experiences with them.

In March, 1964, the CPSU attempted to negotiate with the Central Committee, Communist Party of Japan, but we got no response to our appeal. On the contrary, our efforts resulted in new attack being launched upon us by the Communist Party of Japan.

The Comrades of the Indonesian Communist Party also turned down advice from the CPSU in connection with certain fallacies in their position. For example, the Indonesian Comrades were told that the Communist Party of Indonesia policy would only weaken the anti-imperialist forces in Indonesia and that due to this policy domestic reaction might exploit some propitious moment and strike a blow at the revolutionary forces of Indonesia including the Communist Party of Indonesia. Yet, after the Communist

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CPSU DOCUMENT ENTITLED "STEPS TAKEN BY  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION TO  
STRENGTHEN THE UNITY OF THE WORLD  
COMMUNIST MOVEMENT"

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Party of Indonesia defeats, the CPSU came out in the defense of that Party and asked publicly for the commutation of the sentence which had been passed out by the Indonesian Government on Njoto, Deputy Chairman of the Communist Party of Indonesia. There have been, of course, other acts on our part of proletarian solidarity with the Communist Party of Indonesia.

We have also tried to establish contact with the Communist Party of New Zealand, but they have completely ignored us. We have also on numerous occasions expressed concern for the Communist Parties of Burma, Malay, and Thailand. We have tried to keep in touch with them and sent them information. Regrettably, it has to be noted that the CPSU's efforts to normalize relations with all of these Communist Parties have failed to yield any positive results. All of these Parties refused to send delegates to the XXIII Congress of the CPSU.

Regardless of all that has transpired, the CPSU, in cooperation with other Marxist-Leninist Parties, will continue to search for ways leading to the unity of the world communist movement and will march forward along the Leninist path.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

5/5/66

*RA*  
Airtel

1 - Mr. Shaw

To: SACs Chicago (134-46 Sub B) (Enclosures - 3)  
New York (100-134637) (Enclosures - 2)

From: Director, FBI (100-428091)

**SOLO**  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

ReNYairtel 4/28/66, a copy of which was furnished to Chicago.

Reairtel enclosed one roll of motion picture film with French soundtrack, which was furnished to CG 5824-S\* by the Working People's Party of Vietnam. Also enclosed was a two-page document in French language believed to be a transcript of the film's soundtrack. The Bureau was requested to return the film to the Chicago Office and to furnish translation of the French document to Chicago and New York.

Enclosed herewith for Chicago is the roll of motion picture film which was forwarded in reairtel. For your information the Bureau has made a copy of the film. It should be noted that the film when received at the Bureau was not on a reel. In order to facilitate the handling of the film it was placed on a reel at the Bureau and is being returned to Chicago on a reel. In the event Chicago feels that such action may jeopardize the security of CG 5824-S\*, the film should be removed from the reel prior to returning the film to CG 5824-S\*.

CG 5824-S\* should be alerted to obtain any available information as to what use the Communist Party, USA, intends to make of the film. The Bureau should be promptly advised of any information obtained by the informant concerning this matter.

In accordance with the request in reairtel, there is enclosed for Chicago and New York two copies each of the translation of the French document which accompanied the film and which consists of a transcription of the film's soundtrack.

WGS:pah  
(6)

6 MAY 5 1966

(SEE NOTE PAGE TWO)

MAILED 11  
MAY 5 1966  
COMM-FBI

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TELETYPE UNIT

Airtel to Chicago & New York  
Re: SOLO  
100-428091

NOTE:

On his recent Solo mission, CG 5824-S\* received a propaganda film from an official of the Communist Party of North Vietnam. CG 5824-S\* has to turn this film over to the CPUSA which will probably use the film for propaganda purposes. The film shows scenes of alleged bombing by American planes of a hospital for lepers in North Vietnam. At the conclusion of the film the narrator, in an emotional outburst, warns that the indiscriminate bombing of the leper hospital belies President Johnson's public utterances concerning the intentions of the U. S. in Vietnam.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI NEW YORK

12-59 AM

URGENT

4-28-66

AXS

TO DIRECTOR ---1--- (100-428091) ---ENCODED---

FROM NEW YORK (100-134637) 7P

SOLO, IS DASH C.

TELETYPE UNIT

MAY 28 1966

ENCODED MESSAGE

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. DeLoach	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Wick	_____
Mr. Casper	_____
Mr. Callahan	_____
Mr. Conrad	_____
Mr. Felt	_____
Mr. Gale	_____
Mr. Rosen	_____
Mr. Sullivan	_____
Mr. Tavel	_____
Mr. Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Miss Holmes	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

RE BOSTON TEL CALL, FOUR TWENTY SIX, SIXTY SIX.

CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR DASH S ASTERISK RETURNED U.S. EVENING

FOUR TWENTY FIVE, SIXTY SIX. FROM TWENTIETH SOLO MISSION TO USSR, EAST GERMANY AND CZECHOSLOVAKIA, WHICH COMMENCED THREE EIGHTEEN, SIXTY SIX. DUE TO SOURCE'S EXHAUSTION AND POOR PHYSICAL CONDITION, DEBRIEFING SPORADIC THUS FAR. PROCEEDED NEW YORK CITY FOUR TWENTY SIX, SIXTY SIX, FOR DISCUSSION FOUR TWENTY SEVEN, SIXTY SIX, WITH GUS HALL, GENERAL SECRETARY, CPUSA. DURING MISSION, CG FIVE EIGHT TWO FOUR DASH S ASTERISK WAS FRATERNAL DELEGATE FROM CPUSA TO TWENTY THIRD CONGRESS OF CPSU, THREE TWENTY NINE TO FOUR EIGHT, SIXTY SIX. PARTICIPATED IN MEETINGS WITH MIKHAIL A. SUSLOV AND BORIS N. PONOMAREV, BOTH SECRETARIES OF CENTRAL COMMITTEE, CPSU (CCCPUSU) AND OTHER CPSU LEADERS. MET INDIVIDUALLY WITH DELEGATIONS FROM NUMEROUS COMMUNIST AND WORKERS PARTIES FROM THROUGHOUT WORLD. PRINCIPAL ITEMS LEARNED THUS FAR ARE AS FOLLOWS:

END OF PAGE ONE

cc: Shaw

65 MAY 16 1966

ST-101

REC-47

MAY 16 1966

MAILED FOR THE DIRECTOR

MAY 6 1966

5 SKB (last)

PAGE TWO

ONE. CURRENT ASSESSMENT OF USSR LEADERSHIP. LEADERSHIP OF CPSU NOW IN HANDS OF GROUP LED BY LEONID I. BREZHNEV, GENERAL SECRETARY, CPSU, AND MIKHAIL A. SUSLOV, MEMBER OF POLITICAL BUREAU <sup>PB</sup> (OT) AND SECRETARIAT, CCCPSU. HOWEVER, LEADERSHIP ACHIEVED THROUGH COMPROMISE IN ORDER TO DEMONSTRATE ALLEGED UNANIMITY OF PB. MINORITY GROUP IN PB LED BY ALEXEI N. KOSYGIN, PREMIER OF USSR, AND ALEKSANDR N. SHELEPIN, MEMBER OF PB, CCCPSU. ACCORDING TO TIMUR TIMOFEEV, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, INSTITUTE FOR WORLD ECONOMY AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS, USSR ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, IN LAST ANALYSIS, RETENTION OF LEADERSHIP BY THIS GROUP IS DEPENDENT UPON SUCCESS OF ECONOMIC PROGRAM IN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE OUTLINED IN NEW FIVE YEAR PLAN DURING NEXT YEAR OR TWO.

TWO. TWENTY THIRD CONGRESS, CPSU. IN OPINION OF CPSU LEADERS THIS CONGRESS WAS HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL. THEY CONTRASTED THIS GATHERING OF MORE THAN NINETY PARTIES WITH CHINESE "SUMMIT" CONFERENCE IN NEW ZEALAND OF FOUR PARTIES. THIS DEMONSTRATED CPSU ABILITY TO MOBILIZE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT BEHIND CPSU POSITION ON SUCH MATTERS AS VIETNAM. MOST  
END OF PAGE TWO



PAGE THREE

FOREIGN DELEGATES TO CONGRESS ASSESSED NEW SOVIET FIVE YEAR ECONOMIC PLAN AS MOST REALISTIC AND SOVIET LEADERS EXPRESSED EVERY EXPECTATION OF FULFILLMENT OF THIS PLAN.

THREE. SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS AND AFFECT ON WAR IN VIETNAM. SOURCE STUDIED HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL CPSU DOCUMENTS ON THIS SUBJECT. DOCUMENT ENTITLED "SOVIET-CHINESE RELATIONS AND MEASURES TAKEN BY CPSU TO NORMALIZE THEM" CONFIRMED THAT SPLIT IS COMPLETE, THOUGH CPSU ALLEGES THEY CONTINUE EFFORTS TOWARD RECONCILIATION WHICH ARE BEING REBUFFED BY CP OF CHINA (CPC). DOCUMENT CONTAINED SUMMARY OF PAST SINO-SOVIET COMMUNICATIONS, MUCH OF WHICH HAS BEEN PREVIOUSLY FURNISHED IN GREATER DETAIL BY SOURCE. DOCUMENT DETAILED CHINESE COMPLETE REJECTION OF ANY COOPERATION FOR ASSISTANCE OF NORTH VIETNAM. DOCUMENT CHARGES CPC LIMITING LAND SHIPMENT OF SOVIET SUPPLIES TO VIETNAM AS PART OF OVER- ALL CHINESE POLICY TO FORCE SOVIET SHIPMENTS BY SHIP AND CAUSE DIRECT U.S.-SOVIET CONFRONTATION IN ORDER TO EMBROIL USSR IN MILITARY CONFLICT WITH U.S. CHARGE CHINESE DESIRE TO WORSEN MILITARY AND ECONOMIC SITUATION OF NORTH VIETNAM.

END OF PAGE THREE

PAGE FOUR

CHINESE ALSO DEMANDING EUROPEAN SOCIALIST COUNTRIES BEGIN MILITARY  
CONFLICT IN EUROPE TO EASE PRESSURE ON VIETNAM. CPSU ALLEGES CHINESE  
CONTINUE PROVOCATIONS ON COMMON BORDER AND ARE ENGINEERING SEIZURES OF  
SOVIET TERRITORY. SINCE AUTUMN. SIXTY FIVE, CHINESE MILITARY UNITS  
CONDUCTING PROVOCATIVE TACTICAL EXERCISES ADJACENT TO USSR TERRITORY.  
CHINESE PEOPLE BEING CONDITIONED FOR "FULL BREAK" AND EVEN ARMED CONFLICT  
WITH USSR WHICH IS "MAIN ENEMY." CHINESE PRESS AND RADIO FRANTIC  
ABOUT "THREAT FROM NORTH." IN DISCUSSION, SUSLOV PROMISED THAT IF  
U.S. CONTINUES ESCALATION OF VIETNAM WAR, CPSU WILL CONTINUE TO INCREASE  
AID OF ALL TYPES TO NORTH VIETNAM.

FOUR. MEETING WITH DELEGATION FROM NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT (NLF)  
OF SOUTH VIETNAM. NLF LEADERS THANKED CPUSA FOR FIGHT AGAINST U.S.  
ACTIONS IN VIETNAM. OFFERED SUGGESTIONS TO CPUSA TO LINK STRUGGLE IN  
VIETNAM. OFFERED SUGGESTIONS TO CPUSA TO LINK STRUGGLE IN VIETNAM WITH  
OTHER GRIEVANCES OF AMERICAN PEOPLE AGAINST JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION, USING  
EXAMPLE OF MOTHERS AND WIVES OF SOLDIERS IN VIETNAM. U.S. NEGRO FREEDOM  
MOVEMENT SHOULD BE LINKED IN SOME WAY WITH VIETNAM WAR. EXPRESSED  
END OF PAGE FOUR

PAGE FIVE

SYMPATHY FOR YOUNG U.S. SOLDIERS IN VIETNAM AND SUGGESTED STRUGGLE BE DEVELOPED AROUND FACT THAT YOUTH ARE BEING SENT TO FIGHT RATHER THAN MOBILIZING RESERVES. ALLEGED NLF FRATERNIZATION WITH U.S. TROOPS, FEED THEM WHEN THEY HAVE NO FOOD AND TALK TO THEM ABOUT HOME AND FAMILY. ALLEGE U.S. TROOPS DESIRE TO RETURN TO FAMILIES AND ACCEPT LEAFLETS AND BOOKLETS PUBLISHED BY NLF. EXPRESSED DETERMINATION TO CONTINUE VIETNAM WAR AND ARE CONFIDENT OF VICTORY. STATE NLF WILL NOT FALL INTO TRAP OF NEGOTIATING CONTINUING PRESENCE IN VIETNAM OF U.S. TROOPS. NLF REJECTS NEGOTIATION AT THIS TIME. STATE U.S. WILL NEGOTIATE IN FUTURE, BUT ONLY WHEN CIRCUMSTANCES MORE FAVORABLE TO NLF.

FIVE. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF INTELLECTUALS PLANNED FOR MAY. SIXTY SIX IN NORTH VIETNAM. GENERAL SECRETARY OF WRITERS UNION AND SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE OF VIETNAM WORKERS PARTY EXTENDED INVITATION THROUGH ART SHIELDS, MOSCOW CORRESPONDENT ON "THE WORKER," TO CPUSA TO SEND FIVE INTELLECTUALS TO INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF INTELLECTUALS PLANNED FOR MID MAY. SIXTY SIX. THIS WOULD NOT BE POLITICAL CONFERENCE, SIMPLY MEETING OF INTELLECTUALS UNITED IN OPPOSITION TO U.S. ACTIONS IN VIETNAM. PURPOSE IS TO CONDEMN "WAR OF AGGRESSION," "CONDEMN THE  
END OF PAGE FIVE

PAGE SIX.

ATROCITIES" AND SUPPORT FOUR-POINT PROGRAM OF NORTH VIETNAM. SUGGESTED PARTICIPANTS ARE LINUS PAULING, ARTHUR MILLER, [REDACTED] BETTINA APTHEKER AND MARTIN LUTHER KING. CPUSA REPRESENTATIVE PROMISED EVERY EFFORT TOWARD U. S. PARTICIPATION. b6 b7C

SIX. FUTURE INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS. CPUSA HAS RECEIVED OFFICIAL INVITATIONS TO ATTEND THE FOLLOWING MEETINGS: FIFTEENTH CONGRESS OF MONGOLIAN PEOPLES REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, SIX SEVEN, SIXTY SIX, THIRTEENTH CONGRESS OF CP OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA, MAY THIRTY ONE, SIXTY SIX: THIRTY FIFTH ANNIVERSARY MEETING OF POPULAR VANGUARD PARTY OF COSTA RICA, SIX SIXTEEN, SIXTY SIX; NINETEENTH CONGRESS OF CP OF URUGUAY, SIX TWENTY NINE TO SEVEN THREE, SIXTY SIX. WHILE IN MOSCOW, SOURCE PERSONALLY MET AND DELIVERED INVITATION TO FORTHCOMING EIGHTEENTH NATIONAL CONVENTION OF CPUSA TO MORE THAN SEVENTY COMMUNISTS AND WORKERS PARTIES.

LE DUAN, FIRST SECRETARY OF VIETNAM WORKERS PARTY, FURNISHED TO SOURCE COPY OF NORTH VIETNAM PROPOGANDA FILM DEPICTING BOMBING OF HOSPITAL BY U.S. PLANES. FILM CURRENTLY IN POSSESSION OF SOURCE, BUT WILL END OF PAGE SIX

PAGE SEVEN

BE DELIVERED TO NATIONAL OFFICE, CPUSA. BUREAU IS REQUESTED TO ADVISE  
WHAT ACTION IS DESIRED RELATIVE TO THIS FILM.

DEBRIEFING OF SOURCE IS CONTINUING COMMENSURATE WITH DIFFICULTIES POSED BY HIS POOR PHYSICAL CONDITION.

LETTERHEAD MEMORANDA FOLLOW.

AM COPY TO CHICAGO.

END AND ACK

WA...RPT

FBI WASH DC

CC- MR. SULLIVAN

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson  
DeLoach  
Mohr  
Wick  
Casper  
Callahan  
Conrad  
Felt  
Gale  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: April 28, 1966

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

1 - DeLoach  
1 - Sullivan  
1 - Branigan  
1 - Cotter  
1 - Baumgardner  
1 - Shaw

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

CG 5824-S\* departed on Solo Mission 20 to the Soviet Union and satellite countries on 3/18/66 for the purpose of attending the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and holding conferences with leading Soviet officials. This is to advise you of the return of informant from his mission and to acquaint you with the high lights of the mission.

## Assessment of Soviet Leadership

Leadership now is in the hands of a group led by Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and Mikhail Suslov, Political Bureau member. Leadership achieved through compromise with minority group led by Premier Alexei Kosygin and Political Bureau member Aleksandr Shelepin. Retention of leadership is dependent upon success in next year or two of economic program in industry and agriculture outlined in new five-year plan.

## 23rd Congress, Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Soviet leaders feel Congress was highly successful and demonstrated their ability to mobilize world communist movement behind Soviet position on such matters as Vietnam. Foreign delegates assessed new Soviet five-year economic plan as "most realistic" and Soviet leaders express every expectation of fulfillment of this plan.

## Sino-Soviet Relations

CG 5824-S\* studied highly confidential Soviet documents on this subject which confirmed that split is complete. Document charged Chinese limited land shipment of Soviet supplies to Vietnam in order to force Soviet shipments by sea. This was an effort to cause direct U. S. - Soviet confrontation in order to embroil the Soviet Union in military conflict with the U. S. Chinese are demanding that European communist countries begin military conflict in Europe to ease pressure on Vietnam. Document also alleges that Chinese military units, since late 1965,

100-428091

WGS:pah

CONTINUED OVER

11 MAY 9 1966

65 MAY 10 1966

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
Re: SOLO  
100-428091

have been conducting provocative tactical exercises adjacent to Soviet territory. Chinese people are being conditioned for "full break" and even armed conflict with Soviet Union which is now considered as the "main enemy." Suslov vowed that if the U. S. continues its escalation of Vietnam war, Soviets will continue to increase aid of all types to North Vietnam.

Meeting With Delegation From Vietnam National Liberation Front

National Liberation Front leaders thanked the Communist Party, USA, for its fights against U. S. actions in Vietnam, and offered suggestion to Communist Party, USA, that it link the struggle in Vietnam with other grievances of American people against the Johnson Administration. They specifically suggested linking the U. S. Negro freedom movement. These leaders expressed determination to continue war and are confident of victory. They rejected negotiations at this time but indicated they will negotiate in the future when conditions are more favorable to them.

International Conference of Intellectuals, May, 1966, Vietnam

Vietnamese Communist Party leaders solicited the aid of the Communist Party, USA, in having five intellectuals from the U. S. attend this conference which has as its purpose the support of the Four Point program of North Vietnam. It was suggested that the Communist Party, USA, make an all-out effort to have the following Americans participate: Linus Pauling (scientist), Arthur Miller (playwright), [redacted] Bettina Aptheker (student), and Martin Luther King (civil rights leader). [redacted] and Aptheker have been identified as Communist Party members; Pauling and Miller have supported communist causes; and King is a communist dupe. in that he willingly accepts guidance from the communists.

b6  
b7c

ACTION:

For information. These are only the high lights of the mission. Debriefing of informant is being expedited and, upon receipt of complete details, dissemination will be made to top Government officials.

*wes* *b* *V* *P* *ENC*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

TO : Mr. Conrad *duc*

DATE: May 3, 1966

FROM : C. F. Downing

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*fw*  
15.1  
Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S\* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 5/3/66, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at scheduled times and frequencies but no messages were transmitted.

ACTION:

For information.

- al*
- 1 - Mr. Conrad
  - 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
  - 1 - Mr. Downing
  - 1 - Mr. Newpher
  - 1 - Mr. Paddock

*HS*  
HS:dek  
(7)

REC-9  
100-428091-5477  
11 MAY 9 1966

*FWD*  
54 MAY 12 1966



~~TOP SECRET~~

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:  
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE  
DATE 02-06-2012

1 - Mr. DeLoach  
1 - Mr. Sullivan  
1 - Mr. Baumgardner  
1 - Liaison  
1 - Mr. Shaw

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 5, 1966

### SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS

The following information was supplied by sources which have furnished reliable information in the past.

Certain fraternal delegates to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which was held in Moscow, Russia, from March 29, 1966, to April 8, 1966, were permitted to review several highly secretive Soviet documents pertaining to Sino-Soviet relations. The essence of these documents was as follows.

The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has made many unsuccessful approaches to the Communist Party of China in an effort to normalize relations between these two Parties and countries. However, every proposal by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been rejected by the Communist Party of China, which has charged the Soviet Union with following a line of "Soviet-American cooperation to dominate the world."

The Chinese, of late, have been limiting land shipments of supplies to North Vietnam from the Soviet Union. This is part of the over-all Chinese policy to force Soviet shipments by sea and, thereby, cause direct confrontation with United States Naval Forces. In this manner, the Chinese hope to embroil the Soviet Union in a military conflict with the United States.

Recently the leaders of the Communist Party of China have started to foist on the European communist countries their thesis that to render effective aid to the Vietnamese people and the struggle against "United States imperialism" a "seat of war" must be created in Europe.

The Chinese Government has steadily curtailed economic cooperation with the Soviet Union. On the initiative of the Chinese Government deliveries to China of Soviet industrial plants in complete sets were cut from

100-428091-5478  
WGS:jec (14)

~~TOP SECRET~~

Group 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

SEE NOTE PAGE 3

Tolson  
DeLoach  
Mohr  
Wick  
Casper  
Callahan  
Conrad  
Felt  
Gale  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

16 MAY 16 1966

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

~~TOP SECRET~~

### SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS

359 million rubles in 1959 to six million rubles in 1965, or by more than 98 per cent. In addition, scientific cooperation has dropped to a fraction of one per cent. Trade in 1965 between China and the Soviet Union increased only by five per cent as compared with 1964, to bring it up to 420 million rubles. Cultural relations between the two countries are almost nonexistent.

Chinese leaders have continued border provocation and have charged that the Soviet Union had seized from China about 1.5 million square kilometers of her territory. Chinese authorities are engineering the seizure of sections of Soviet territory, organizing unauthorized farming and other work on these lands and are encouraging Chinese citizens to insult Soviet border guards. According to the reports of the "Primorye Territory Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union," provocative Chinese military maneuvers, involving firing practice with the participation of artillery units and tanks, have been conducted in areas adjacent to the border of the Soviet Union since late 1965,

The Chinese people are being conditioned for the possibility of a full break and even armed conflict with the Soviet Union, which is now regarded as their "chief enemy." The Chinese are currently holding anti-Soviet mass meetings and on March 6, 1966, for the first time in the history of communist countries, the Chinese conducted a demonstration in front of the Soviet Embassy in Peking, China.

In February, 1966, the Soviet Union observed the 16th anniversary of the Sino-Soviet Treaty, and on that occasion stressed its desire to strengthen Sino-Soviet relations. However, this occasion in China was marked by increased anti-Soviet propaganda. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union once again displayed its good will by inviting a delegation from the Communist Party of China to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. However, the Communist Party of China refused to send a delegation to the Congress.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

NOTE:

Classified "~~Top Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S\* has been referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the identity of this valuable source. Dissemination is being made to Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Honorable Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense; Vice Admiral William F. Raborn, Jr., Director of Central Intelligence Agency; Director, National Indications Center; and the Attorney General and Deputy Attorney General by routing slips. Data extracted from Chicago airtel 4/30/66 captioned "Solo, IS-C." See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan 5/5/66, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist" prepared by WGS:jec.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: 5/5/66

FROM : F. J. Baumgardner

- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Mr. Shaw

SUBJECT: SOLO

INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

Dr. DeLoach ✓  
Mohr ✓  
Wick ✓  
Casper ✓  
Callahan ✓  
Conrad ✓  
Felt ✓  
Gale ✓  
Rosen ✓  
Sullivan ✓  
Tavel ✓  
Trotter ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Holmes ✓  
Gandy ✓

This is to recommend that data pertaining to Sino-Soviet relations obtained by CG 5824-S\* while on his recent mission to the Soviet Union be disseminated to the White House, National Indications Center, Attorney General, Secretary Rusk, Secretary McNamara, and Central Intelligence Agency Director Raborn.

CG 5824-S\* was a member of the Communist Party, USA, delegation to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which was held in Moscow, Russia, from 3/29/66 to 4/8/66. While in Moscow, informant was contacted by an official of the International Department, Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who made available copies of highly secretive Soviet documents dealing with Sino-Soviet relations. CG 5824-S\* was instructed to circulate the documents among the Communist Party, USA, delegation. Informant advised that the essence of these documents was as follows.

Sino-Soviet relations have continued to deteriorate in spite of efforts of the Soviet Union to normalize relations. The Chinese Government has limited land shipments of Soviet supplies to Vietnam in order to force Soviet shipments by sea. This was an effort to cause direct Soviet - U.S. confrontation in order to embroil the Soviet Union in military conflict with the U.S.

Recently Chinese leaders have started a campaign to have European communist countries begin military conflicts in Europe in an effort to aid the Vietnamese people.

The Chinese Government has curtailed economic cooperation with the Soviet Union and cultural relations between the two countries are almost nonexistent.

The Chinese have continued border provocations and are encouraging Chinese citizens to insult Soviet border guards. Chinese military units, since late 1965, have been conducting provocative military maneuvers in areas adjacent to the border of the Soviet Union.

100-428091

ENCLOSURE--OVER

11 MAY 9 1966

Enclosure sent 5-5-66

WGS:jec (6)

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

The Chinese people are being conditioned for the possibility of a full break and even armed conflict with the Soviet Union. On 3/6/66, for the first time in the history of communist countries, a demonstration was held in front of the Soviet Embassy in Peking, China.

The Communist Party of China refused to send a delegation to the 23rd Soviet Congress.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached summary be sent to the Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Honorable Robert S. McNamara, Secretary of Defense; Vice Admiral William F. Raborn, Jr., Director, Central Intelligence Agency; Director, National Indications Center; the Attorney General and Deputy Attorney General, by routing slips, incorporating the data obtained by CG 5824-S\*.

WCL  
APB/12  
WCL  
JAS/KR  
OK  
P

5/9/66

1 Mr. Shaw

AIRTEL

To: SAC, Chicago (134-46-Sub B)  
From: Director, FBI (100-428091)

SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Reurairtel 4/19/66 and FBI Laboratory report 4/26/66, copies of which were furnished your office.

Reairtel pertained to a letter sent by CG 5824-S\* from abroad to the Lydia White mail drop in Chicago, Illinois. The letter, upon being opened by [redacted] was found to contain in addition to the handwritten letter from CG 5824-S\*, a small piece of tracing paper which appeared to be an exact replica of the address on the envelope. It was also observed that the envelope contained markings indicating that it had been chamfered.

ReLaboratory Report disclosed that the glassine slip (tracing paper) was under the front surface of the envelope at the time the envelope was addressed.

You are instructed to promptly suairtel setting forth the results of your discussion with CG 5824-S\* concerning this matter. The results of the discussion should be submitted along with your observations and recommendations for any additional action that may be warranted.

WGS:cda cda  
(4)

NOTE: CG 5824-S\* while in the Soviet Union, wrote an open-code letter to the Lydia White mail drop in Chicago. Informant gave the letter to John Gollan, General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain, who promised to mail the letter in London. The letter, which bore the postmark 4/12/66, Middlesex (England), was received by the Chicago Office from [redacted] on 4/18/66. Examination of the envelope flap by the Chicago Office disclosed evidence of chamfering since needlemarks were apparent as were creases believed to have been created by the resealing of the envelope.

Olson  
DeLoach  
Mohr  
Wick  
Casper  
Callahan  
Conrad  
Felt  
Gale  
Rosen  
Sullivan  
Tavel  
Trotter  
Tele. Room  
Holmes  
Gandy

50 MAY 12 1966

MAIL ROOM TELETYPE UNIT

MAY 3 1966

COMM-FBI

NOTE CONTINUED PAGE 2

Airtel to SAC, Chicago  
RE: SOLO  
100-428091

NOTE CONTINUED:

Inasmuch as the possibility existed that CG 5824-S\* would have to turn the envelope over to the Soviets, the FBI Laboratory was not able to conduct an examination to determine if the envelope had been chamfered. Now that CG 5824-S\* has returned to Chicago, this matter should be discussed with the informant.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, Chicago (134-46 Sub B)

5/10/66

Director, FBI (100-428091)

1 - Shaw

*W  
B.T.*  
**SOLO**

**INTERNAL SECURITY - C**

Reurairtel 5/4/66 which sets forth an explanation by CG 5824-S\* concerning the glassine paper discovered in a recent communication sent by the informant from abroad to the "Lydia White" mail drop in Chicago.

Since the presence of the glassine paper has been explained by the informant and the FBI Laboratory has detected no evidence of chamfering, the original communication which was forwarded to the Bureau by Chicago airtel of 4/22/66 is being returned herewith to your office.

Enclosure

WGS:pah  
(4) *pah*

*Al*

**NOTE:**

On 5/3/66 CG 5824-S\* was questioned concerning the discovery of a piece of glassine paper bearing the frosted tracing of the address appearing on the envelope of a communication sent by the informant from abroad to the "Lydia White" mail drop in Chicago. Informant advised that he had placed the glassine paper in the envelope at the time he sealed the envelope in an effort to make the contents somewhat less readable by anyone trying to read the communication through the envelope. When informant addressed the envelope the glassine paper picked up the frosted impression of the address on the envelope.

*pen*  
Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*100-428091-5480*

**6 MAY 10 1966**

**MAILED 4**  
**MAY 9 1966**  
**COMM-FBI**

**65 MAY 16 1966**  
**MAIL ROOM** ☒ **TELETYPE UNIT** ☐

*WGS*  
*CGP/R*  
*WGS*



UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

TO : Mr. Conrad *Jave*

DATE: May 6, 1966

FROM : *C. F. Downing*

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
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Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*W.S.T.*  
Captioned case involves the Bureau's highly valuable confidential informant NY 694-S\* who has been receiving communications transmitted to him by radio.

On 5/6/66, transmissions were heard by the Bureau's radio station at Midland at which time a message, NR 428 GR 99, was intercepted.

The plain text and cipher text are attached.

The New York Office is aware of the contents.

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure *al*

ENCLOSURE

- 1 - Mr. Conrad
- 2 - Mr. Sullivan (Attention: Mr. J. A. Sizoo, Mr. W. G. Shaw)
- 1 - Mr. Downing
- 1 - Mr. Newpher
- 1 - Mr. Paddock

*HS*  
HS:drv  
(7) *Downing*  
*Al*

REC-23

*al*  
100-428091-5481

6 MAY 11 1966

65 MAY 16 1966 *HYB*

5/6/66

NR 428 GR 99

5/ 6/66

09916 45781 45023 70977 28138 04688 66989 86709 61754 11449  
57374 09981 53472 90391 40752 96306 36982 31710 45693 46755  
13101 02543 85580 47531 58813 14500 69247 37321 18551 58004  
23691 81345 89807 16168 26229 81463 44807 09044 40094 53193  
01645 49049 92541 26948 22803 18121 37469 01675 35213 33895  
46618 32564 40993 27731 02646 01563 75114 29655 00987 22403  
38153 51986 73389 43320 56913 37314 65021 22470 02433 41176  
82733 37673 70988 68929 94089 36953 25020 85108 97165 00740  
42979 39037 58265 45965 93228 83778 27617 65248 69570 51925  
24996 24985 94228 51158 92700 54313 66425 48466 15645

FORM 810

NR 428 GR 99

5/ 6/66

TO BIRCH. IF YOU HAVE ANY PROBLEM WITH SENDING TO OHMS KENTHA  
T IS TO OPEN ON MAY #17 OF A HIGH ANE FUL COUSIN YOU MAY ENTRU  
ST THIS MISSION TO [REDACTED] WHO IS IN WEST  
NOW, I SUPPOSE TO CAPHAZE ON MAY #15 BY BOAC BOAC FLIGHT #501  
FROM VILLAGE LAST, TO SPRING. PHONE NUMBER FOR MAY - JUNE IS  
#7449200. IT WAS USED IN NOVEMBER - DECEMBER.

b6  
b7c

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5481

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Tolson ☒  
DeLoach ☒  
Mohr ☒  
Wick ☒  
Casper ☒  
Callahan ☒  
Conrad ☒  
Felt ☒  
Gale ☒  
Rosen ☒  
Sullivan ☒  
Tavel ☒  
Trotter ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Holmes ☒  
Gandy ☒

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan

DATE: May 5, 1966

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

1 - DeLoach  
1 - Sullivan  
1 - Baumgardner  
1 - Liaison  
1 - Shaw

SUBJECT: SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - COMMUNIST

This is to recommend that data pertaining to the splitting tactics of the Communist Party of China obtained by CG 5824-S\* while on his recent Solo mission to the Soviet Union be disseminated to the White House, the Attorney General, Secretary Rusk of State, and Central Intelligence Agency Director Raborn. *5/5/66*

CG 5824-S\* was a member of the Communist Party, USA, delegation to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union which was held in Moscow, Russia, from 3/29/66 to 4/8/66. While in Moscow, informant was contacted by an official of the Central Committee, Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who made available a highly secretive Soviet document dealing with the splitting tactics of the Communist Party of China. Informant advised that the essence of this document was as follows:

(1) Having failed to impose its political views upon the world communist movement, the leadership of the Communist Party of China has launched far flung activities against the Marxist-Leninist parties. This action, which is designed to promote the nationalist ambitions of the Chinese leaders, is weakening the world communist system.

(2) The Chinese have succeeded in establishing splinter groups in more than 30 capitalist countries.

(3) The Chinese leadership is trying to involve the Soviet Union in direct conflict with the United States in Vietnam just as they attempted to do at the time of the Caribbean crisis. *CEL*

(4) In the Communist Party of China there is a constant emphasis on the personality cult around MAO Tse-tung, which has prompted the rejection of Marxism-Leninism.

100-428091  
Enclosures *sent 5-6-66*

WGS:pah  
(6) *pah*

CONTINUED--OVER

100-428091-5482  
6 MAY 11 1966

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan  
Re: SOLO  
100-428091

(5) Although the world communist movement has never been up against such an organized campaign of subversion as is presently being spearheaded by the Communist Party of China, it has overcome difficulties in the past and will surmount this obstacle.

RECOMMENDATION:

That the attached summary be sent to Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of State; Vice Admiral William F. Raborn, Jr., Director of Central Intelligence Agency; the Attorney General, and the Deputy Attorney General by routing slips, incorporating the data obtained by CG 5824-S\*.

*W*

*P*

*WAB/R*

*WAB/R*

*L. Jo*

*Q/1*

~~TOP SECRET~~

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

May 6, 1966

- 1 - DeLoach
- 1 - Sullivan
- 1 - Baumgardner
- 1 - Liaison
- 1 - Shaw

### SPLITTING TACTICS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

The following information was furnished by sources which have supplied reliable information in the past.

Certain fraternal delegates to the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, which was held in Moscow, Russia, from March 29, 1966, to April 8, 1966, were permitted to review a highly secretive Soviet document pertaining to the splitting activities of the Communist Party of China. The essence of this document was as follows:

Having failed to impose its political views upon the world communist movement, the leadership of the Communist Party of China has launched far-flung activities against the Marxist-Leninist parties. This splitting policy pursued by the Communist Party of China leadership is weakening the world communist system which is the main bulwark in the struggle against imperialism. The splitting activities of the Communist Party of China leadership and their propaganda activities against the Marxist-Leninist parties are designed to promote the nationalist ambitions of the Chinese leaders and are impregnated with the MAO Tse-tung personality cult. The Chinese leaders are well aware that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is an obstacle in their path and, therefore, are aiming the main blow at the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. MAO has said, "You have to hit at the head, and the rest will fall to pieces by itself."

"Anti-Party splinter groups" have appeared in many capitalist countries through the intervention and efforts of the Communist Party of China leadership. There are groups of this type currently in more than 30 countries. In some cases such groups consist of no more than several dozen people. However, most of these people are expelled and discredited former "Party people."

REC-24  
100-428091-5482  
WGS:pah  
(11)  
55 MAY 16 1966  
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100-428091-5482

WGS:pah  
(11)

~~TOP SECRET~~  
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Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

(SEE NOTE PAGE 2)

~~TOP SECRET~~

**SPLITTING TACTICS OF  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA**

The Chinese leadership is trying to involve the Soviet Union in direct conflict with the United States in Vietnam just as they attempted to do at the time of the Caribbean crisis. The Chinese are ready to fight to the "last Soviet and American soldier."

In the Communist Party of China there is constant emphasis on the personality cult around MAO. Everyone must take an oath in front of MAO's portrait when they join the Communist Party of China and at every meeting there are three bows to MAO's portrait before and after the meeting. This personality cult has prompted the rejection of Marxism-Leninism and makes no distinction between the "sensible and the absurd." There have been a number of purges in China during the last few years in order to get rid of honest, genuine Marxist-Leninist leaders.

The world communist movement has never been up against such an organized campaign of subversion on such an enormous scale as that being presently spearheaded by the Communist Party of China. However, the world communist movement has overcome difficulties in the past and will surmount this obstacle. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has pledged to refrain from actions that might prejudice the unity of the world communist movement but at the same time is prepared to take measures against the splitting policy of the Communist Party of China leadership and its attempts to distort basic Marxism-Leninism principle.

Because of the sensitive nature of the sources which furnished the above information, this communication is classified "~~Top Secret~~."

**NOTE:** Classified "~~Top Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S\* has been referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the identity of this valuable source. Dissemination is being made to Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President; Honorable Dean Rusk, Secretary of

(NOTE CONTINUED/PAGE 2)

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

SPLITTING TACTICS OF  
THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

NOTE CONTINUED:

State; Vice Admiral William F. Raborn, Jr., Director of Central Intelligence Agency; and the Attorney General by routing slips. Data extracted from CGairtel 4/29/66 captioned "Solo, IS - C." See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan 5/5/66, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," prepared by WGS:pah.

~~TOP SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

~~TOP SECRET~~

The Attorney General

May 10, 1966

Director, FBI

1 - DeLoach  
1 - Sullivan  
1 - Baumgardner  
1 - Liaison  
1 - R. C. Putnam

LEADERSHIP OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY  
OF THE SOVIET UNION

*Solo*

*15.5*  
The following information, which sets forth comments of two high-ranking officials of the International Department of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, was supplied in April, 1966, by a source which has furnished reliable information in the past. It is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

In the Fall of 1965 the collective leadership which ruled the Soviet Union was an uneasy alliance. It was expected the power struggle would be resolved at the 23rd Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the Spring of 1966. Now that the Congress is over, it appears that Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary of the Party, and Mikhail Suslov, member of the Politburo, mobilized sufficient forces to enable them to continue in power.

*MAILED 3 MAY 10 1966*  
*CHAMBER*  
At the same time it is apparent that the faction represented by the younger group and the military, which wants to do away with the "leftovers of the Twentieth Congress" of the Party, is still a definite force. It is with this group that Premier Alexei Kosygin is reportedly aligned. Evidence that this group is still a force is shown by the fact that at the 23rd Congress it was made evident that the Party will hereafter be mercilessly emphasizing the class struggle. This was indicated in speeches of lesser delegates calling for stiff penalties to enforce Party discipline and some even demanded criminal proceedings against deviating members.

*REC-52 100-428071-5483*  
The manner in which the Congress was staged further indicates where control of the Party rests. Throughout the Congress Suslov sat at the right hand of Brezhnev and Kosygin sat at the left. No paper or speech was delivered to the

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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

100-428091

RCP:pah  
(9)

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downgrading and  
declassification

*ways*  
*grs*  
*WEL*  
6 MAY 11 1966  
(SEE NOTE PAGE 2)

*FILE*  
65 MAY 16 1966

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐



~~TOP SECRET~~

## The Attorney General

Congress until cleared by Suslov. At the same time Aleksandr Sholepin, member of the Politburo, who reportedly is aligned with the younger group which supports Kosygin, sat on the stage like "a wooden Indian" and was nondemonstrative throughout the Congress.

Thus, it appears that while the Brezhnev-Suslov faction holds the reins, there was no clear-cut victory. For example, before the Congress it was announced Suslov would deliver a very important speech on ideology. He did not. He spoke on Vietnam and the need for proletarian internationalism. It was later learned that the original speech was not delivered because it might have indicated there was no unanimity among the Party leadership.

It appears there is a continuing problem of leadership in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. For the time being those who believe the Party must build economic success in the Soviet Union are in control over those who believe they can win the people by achieving continued victories for communism.

If the general economic conditions in the Soviet Union do not improve in the next year or two, the Brezhnev-Suslov faction will be in trouble. Their future rests upon economic accomplishments and what they deliver to the people. Thus, the retention of the present leadership rests upon the success of the 1966 - 1970 Five-Year Plan for industry and agriculture.

Because of the sensitive nature of the source, this communication is classified "~~Top Secret~~." This information is being furnished to the President and other interested officials of the Government.

1 - The Deputy Attorney General

NOTE: Classified "~~Top Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the national defense. See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/9/66, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," prepared by RCP:pah. Data extracted from CGairtel 5/2/66, same caption.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

The Attorney General

May 10, 1966

Director, FBI

1 - DeLoach  
1 - Sullivan  
1 - Baumgardner  
1 - Liaison  
1 - Shaw

**SOVIET AID TO THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE**

*W*  
*ST*  
The enclosed memorandum, which sets forth the essence of a ~~"highly secret"~~ Soviet document captioned "Soviet Aid to the Vietnamese People," is being brought to your attention as a matter of possible interest.

Because of the sensitive nature of our sources which have furnished reliable information in the past, this communication and its enclosure are classified ~~"Top Secret."~~ This information is also being furnished to Honorable Marvin Watson, Special Assistant to the President, and other interested officials of the Government.

Enclosure  
100-428091

1 - The Deputy Attorney General (Enclosure)

WGS:pah  
(9)

REC-52

100-428091-5484  
6 MAY 11 1966

## NOTE:

*Rep*  
*W*  
Classified ~~"Top Secret"~~ because unauthorized disclosure of this information could reveal the identity of the source. (CG 5824-S\*) who is of continuing value and such revelation could result in exceptionally grave damage to the Nation. CG 5824-S\* is referred to as "sources" in order to further protect the security of this informant. Information extracted from CGairtel 5/2/66 entitled "Solo, IS - C." See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan, 5/9/66, captioned "Solo, Internal Security - Communist," prepared by WGS:cah.

MAILED 3

MAY 10 1966

COMM-FBI

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GROUP 1

Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

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Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
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Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
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Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*FIVE*  
MAY 10 1966

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: 5/2/66

Transmit the following in

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via                      **AIRTEL**

(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION DOCUMENT ENTITLED 'SOVIET AID TO THE VIET NAMESE PEOPLE.' "

The information in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished on 4/25-28/66 by CG 5824-S\* to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed LHM has been classified "~~Top Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared in Washington, D. C.

Relative to the document referred to herein,  
CG 5824-S\* furnished the following additional information:

- 3 - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM) REC-1  
1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (RM)  
1 - Chicago

WAB/mes  
(5)

6 MAY 11 1965

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

CG 134-46 Sub B

The day before the opening of the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) held in Moscow, USSR, 3/29 to 4/8/66, CG 5824-S\* was contacted by a representative of the International Department, Central Committee, CPSU, who furnished to him copies of ten documents on topics of interest to the international communist movement. CG 5824-S\* was instructed to circulate them among the CP, USA delegates to the Congress and was made responsible for their safekeeping and return. These documents were characterized as highly confidential and were to be kept under lock and key and were not to be discussed with other delegates to the Congress. Each copy was to be strictly accounted for, including the name of each individual who read them. CG 5824-S\* at various times had possession of each of these documents from that date and throughout the period of the Congress. Due to the pressure of attendance at the Congress and other meetings held during breaks and after sessions of the Congress, CG 5824-S\* was able to study these documents only during the early morning hours before retiring. Thus his notes, while giving the complete essence of these documents, are not exact copies of these documents. CG 5824-S\* advised that although the CPSU was highly secretive regarding these documents, nonetheless he is positive that these documents were also circulated among numerous other delegations. However, as of this date he is the only source in the United States who saw the documents and thus a high security classification is necessary. With respect to the document referred to herein, CG 5824-S\* noted that much of the information contained therein had previously been furnished in much greater detail by virtue of the fact that he has had in his possession on past occasions other documents listing the details of Soviet aid to North Viet Nam in much greater detail. Therefore, CG 5824-S\* made notes from this document which contain only the highlights of the document. This limitation was necessary because of the limitation on his time available for the study of these documents.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.  
May 2, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION  
DOCUMENT ENTITLED "SOVIET AID TO THE  
VIET NAMESE PEOPLE"

During April, 1966, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

During March and April, 1966, fraternal delegates to the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) held in Moscow, USSR, from March 29 to April 8, 1966, were being furnished for their review and return an eight-page document entitled, "Soviet Aid to the Viet Nameese People." The CPSU cautioned that this document was highly ~~secret~~ and must not be discussed with anyone else. The essence of this document is as follows:

The Soviet Union has always firmly and consistently fulfilled its international duty to the Viet Nameese people and is continuing to do so. It has given and is still giving considerable all-around aid and moral and political support to the heroic people of Viet Nam.

Expressed in terms of money, Soviet aid to the Viet Nameese people has reached the sum of one and a half billion rubles, two-thirds of which was given in 1965-1966. The Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet Government give full support to the stand taken by the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam insofar as it concerns the settlement of the Viet Nameese issue.

In 1965 and 1966 the Soviet Union, in accordance with treaties and agreements that have been concluded, has afforded the DRV economic aid to the extent of about four hundred and fifty million rubles. Over half of this amount

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~~Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

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~~TOP SECRET~~

is not returnable and the remainder is in the form of long-term credits. The greater part of the Soviet aid - 70 per cent - is for the development of the DRV's main branches of industry - power, coal, chemical, engineering, etc.

Viet Nam's first engineering plant, <sup>PLANT ?</sup> the Hanoi metalworking factory, and the superphosphate plant at Lamthao, the biggest in Southeast Asia, have been built. With Soviet aid, the tinworks in Cao Bang, the apatite mines at Lao Kay, the Won Bi Power Station, a fish cannery, two tea factories, etc., have been built. The Hongai-Kamfa coal field was rehabilitated with considerable Soviet help.

Factories built with Soviet aid are playing an important role in laying the material and technical basis of socialism in the DRV. Forty per cent of the total power capacity of the DRV was built with Soviet aid.

In 1965 - 1966, when U.S. aggressive acts against the DRV began, our aid increased substantially. The aid we gave was nonreturnable: metalworking lathes, forging presses, power stations and other electrical equipment, rails, fishing vessels, marine and diesel engines, pumping and compression equipment, earth moving and road building machines, trucks, cars, special vehicles, auto repair shops, tires, communications equipment, cable, wire, rolled steel, other metals, instruments, oil products, explosives, medical equipment and instruments, medical supplies, milk products, etc.

We are giving free aid, according to the terms of a special agreement with the DRV, to restore railroads and bridges destroyed by the U.S. Air Force; we furnish track laying machines, tractors, cranes, power shovels, etc.

Also in 1965, we signed an agreement for expanding power stations, radio stations, telegraph stations, etc. We have furnished irrigation equipment to bring 66,000 hectares of virgin soil into production and helped plant 26,000 perennial crops. Our research bodies, polytechnical institutes, scientists and instructors, visit Viet Nam to help all they can. Hanoi University has been furnished modern equipment and teaching aids from the Soviet Union. There are 2,000 Viet Nameese students in higher education schools in the USSR.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~TOP SECRET~~

The Soviet Union is also extending considerable military aid to the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam - modern weapons to repulse U.S. aggression. From 1953 to 1966 Soviet military aid exceeded eight hundred million rubles, six hundred million of which was granted in 1965 - 1966. This sum does not include transportation costs, etc., or maintenance of specialists in Viet Nam or training of Viet Nameese specialists in the USSR.

The Soviet Union has delivered to the DRV ground-to-air rockets, thousands of anti-aircraft guns, machine guns, field guns, motors, tanks of various types, aircraft, helicopter, etc., warships, tracked vehicles and mobile repair stations for all types of equipment, etc. We have also furnished goods for uniforms, boots and helmets. Also instructors for ground-to-air rockets have been furnished - no crews for these rockets have been supplied in accordance with the request of the Viet Nameese. Their airmen are trained in the Soviet Union. We are also establishing Army colleges for the Viet Nameese in order to train Viet Nameese officers. Our Soviet specialists teach in these schools right there on the spot in Viet Nam.

We are also furnishing active aid to the peoples of Viet Nam: arms, ammunition, etc., clothes, medicines and medical supplies of all sorts. We are training South Viet Nameese students in the Soviet Union.

The Supreme Soviet of the USSR is furnishing both political and moral support to the struggle of the Viet Nameese people, with demonstrations of solidarity through factory meetings and other expressions of mass support. In his message to us in May, 1965, Ho Chi-minh stated that the Viet Nameese people will always remember the great help rendered to them by the people of the USSR. We also received thanks from Pham Van-dong, Prime Minister of the DRV, for our assistance. The leadership of the people of the National Liberation Front of South Viet Nam has also expressed its thanks to the Soviet Union for our aid to their struggle, especially in the letter of October, 1965, in which Nguyen Huu-tho wrote his thanks and greetings to the Soviet Union - for all the help and inspiration tendered by the USSR.

~~TOP SECRET~~

- 3 -

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/2/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum captioned, "Current Status of Leadership in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, April, 1966."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished on 4/25-29/66 by CG 5824-S\* to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified ~~TOP SECRET~~ since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement thus adversely affecting the national security.

To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D.C.

- 1-904 94D with 1 encl
- ③-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)
- 1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)
- 1-Chicago

RWH:MDW  
(5)

6 MAY 11 1966

Approved: [Signature]  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

65 MAY 18 1966

Encls to Sullivan, Lato to White House, State, CIA, AG  
 Encls WGS:PAH  
 5/15/66

*[Handwritten signatures and initials]*  
 J. Edgar Hoover  
 Brian Quinn

*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

*[Handwritten signature]*



CG 134-46 Sub B

In regard to the information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum, CG 5824-S\* has advised that throughout his stay in the USSR during March and April, 1966, efforts to ascertain current leadership status of the CPSU was met with no response from top leaders of the CPSU like MIKHAIL A. SUSLOV, a member of the Political Bureau and Secretariat; and, V. N. PONOMAREV, member of the Secretariat, CPSU. However, source did hold discussions with people such as NIKOLAI V. MOSTOVETS and A. S. BELYAKOV, high officials of the International Department, Central Committee, CPSU, as well as TIMUR TIMOFEEV, Assistant Director of Institute of World Economy and International Relations, USSR Academy of Science, Moscow, and these individuals all generally concurred in opinions, observations and conclusions made by the source on his analysis of the present CPSU leadership. In fact, when source discussed these matters with TIMUR TIMOFEEV, which was done in highest confidence, that individual remarked, "How did you know, that is just right."



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 2, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

CURRENT STATUS OF LEADERSHIP IN THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION,  
APRIL, 1966

During April, 1966, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

It will be recalled that in the Fall of 1965 it was reported that the dual leadership or collective which then ruled the USSR remained an uneasy alliance. At that time it was believed that the struggle for power would continue and might only be resolved finally at the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) scheduled for the Spring of 1966.

The XXIII Congress of the CPSU has now been held and it is obvious that prior to this Congress there had been some big debates and serious struggles. The faction within the CPSU leadership represented by Leonid I. Brezhnev, General Secretary, CPSU, and member of the Political Bureau, and Mikhail A. Suslov, a member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU, apparently succeeded in mobilizing sufficient forces necessary to enable them to continue to implement the decisions of the XX and XXII Congresses of the CPSU, at least in writing.

At the same time, it is also apparent that the faction represented by the younger group and the military which wants to do away with the "leftovers of the XX Congress of the CPSU" still is a definite force. It is with this latter group that Premier Alexei Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and a member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, CPSU, is reportedly aligned.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5486

CURRENT STATUS OF LEADERSHIP  
IN THE CPSU, APRIL, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

Evidence that this faction is a force in the CPSU is shown by the fact that at the XXIII Congress, CPSU, it was made evident that the CPSU will hereafter be mercilessly emphasizing the class struggle. At this Congress a number of lesser CPSU delegates spoke out demanding stiff penalties for workers in order to enforce Party discipline and some such delegates even went so far as to request criminal proceedings against deviating members in certain instances.

The manner in which the recent XXIII Congress, CPSU, was conducted and managed from the stage further supports the conclusion relative to who at this time is actually in control of the Party. Suslov throughout the period of this Congress sat at the righthand of Brezhnev and Kosygin sat at the left. No paper or speech was delivered to the Congress without Suslov going over the final drafts and "blue penciling" every piece of paper. At the same time, Aleksandr N. Shelepin, a member of the Political Bureau and a Secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU, who reportedly had been aligned with the younger group, sat on the stage like a "wooden Indian" and was non-demonstrative throughout the Congress.

While it appears that for the present Brezhnev and the faction supporting him hold the reins of leadership in the CPSU, there was no clear-cut victory for either side. For example, before the XXIII Congress commenced it was announced that Suslov was scheduled to deliver a very important speech on ideology at the Congress but this did not occur. Instead, Suslov delivered a speech on the topic of Vietnam and the need for proletarian internationalism. Later, it was stated that this important speech of Suslov had not been delivered because to have done so might tend to prove that while one side was on top, there was no unanimity among the CPSU leadership. This same individual went on to note that even though the Political Bureau might have originally approved such a speech on ideology by Suslov, Suslov's manner of presentation and shading of remarks could show differences and, therefore, it was obviously decided he should not give the speech as planned.

So, there is a continuing problem of leadership in the CPSU. For the time being the group or faction which believes that for once and for all the Party must build up economic examples in the USSR or fail is in control over the group which believes it can win the people by achieving continued victories for communism.

~~TOP SECRET~~

CURRENT STATUS OF LEADERSHIP  
IN THE CPSU, APRIL, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

As to the future of the present group now in leadership in the USSR, this will depend on the future economic situation in the USSR. If this leadership does not bring about an improvement in the general economic conditions within the next year or two, they will have a hard time. Their future therefore rests upon their economic accomplishments and their staying in power depends upon what they deliver to the people. In the last analysis, retention of the present leadership rests upon the success of the current economic program in regard to industry and agriculture as outlined in the new five-year program of the CPSU and adopted at the XXIII Congress.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

F B I  
**ROUTE IN ENVELOPE**  
 Date: 5/3/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
 (Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
 (Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
 IS - C

ReNY and CGairtels dated 4/29, 30, and 5/2/66 captioned as above enclosing letterhead memoranda setting forth results of the 20th Solo Mission just completed by CG 5824-S\*. Five of these airtels and accompanying letterhead memoranda concerned the contents of confidential documents circulated by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) among the fraternal delegations to the 23rd Congress of the CPSU. In the cover airtels to these letterhead memoranda reference is made to ten such documents relating to topics of interest to the world communist movement which were circulated among fraternal delegations; however, the letterhead memoranda have been prepared on only five of these documents. For the information of the Bureau, set forth below are the titles of all ten of these documents. Those marked by an asterisk (\*) are those on which letterhead memoranda have been prepared:

- 1) Events in Ghana;
- \* 2) The Splitting Activities of the Communist Party of China Leadership in the World Communist Movement;
- 3) The Splitting Activities of the Communist Party of China Leadership in International Democratic Organizations;

③-Bureau (RM)  
 1-New York (100-134637) (Info) (RM)  
 1-Chicago  
 WAB:MDW

REC-18 100-428091-5487

6 MAY 11 1966

(5)

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

65 MAY 18 1966

CG 134-46 Sub B

- \* 4) Steps Taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to Strengthen the Unity of the World Communist Movement;
- \* 5) Soviet Aid to the Vietnamese People;
- \* 6) Soviet-Chinese Relations and the Measures Taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to Normalize Them;
- \* 7) Economic, Technical and Military Cooperation Between the USSR and Developing Countries;
- 8) Verdict on the Writers by the Court Called in the Name of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic;
- 9) The Trial of Andrei D. Sinyavsky and Yuli M. Daniel (for reference only); and
- 10) Events in Indonesia.

CG 5824-S\* has advised that because of the limitations upon his time during the period when these documents were in his possession, he was unable to make notes from the remaining five documents. However, he did read these documents and has made the following comments thereon:

The information appearing in documents numbered 1 and 3, referring to the events in Ghana and to Chinese activities in democratic organizations, respectively, contained little new that has not been obtained earlier or has appeared in the Western press. Therefore, the source did not concern himself with attempting to take notes concerning them.

Documents numbered 8 and 9 are in reference to the recent trial of the two Soviet writers, SINYAVSKY and DANIEL. CG 5824-S\* stated that these were reasonably detailed statements, 14 and 8 pages, respectively, supporting the finding of guilty by the Soviet court. CG 5824-S\* stated that he has subsequently read the article entitled, "The Trial of Sinyavsky and Daniel" which appeared beginning on page 20 of the 4/17/66 issue of "The New York Times Magazine," and this article is apparently accurate in the material quoted. However, he also stated that the "Times" article excludes, deliberately in his opinion, much material the above documents quoted from the trial proceedings which portrayed the two writers in a much more unfavorable light. Due to pressure of limited time,

CG 134-46 Sub B

CG 5824-S\* made no notes from these documents and thus we have no specific information relative to the nature of these more derogatory statements concerning the writers.

CG 5824-S\* stated that the other members of the CP, USA group then in Moscow (HENRY WINSTON, HYMAN LUMER, JAMES E. JACKSON) importuned the CPSU leadership to make these documents public since the Soviet Union has fared so badly in the world press, and in the opinion of the literary and intellectual community throughout the world. Nevertheless, the CPSU leadership was adamant in their refusal of these requests and apparently are determined to treat this matter as a purely internal affair which is of no legitimate concern outside the Soviet Union.

CG 5824-S\* stated that he would have liked to have been able to make notes from document #10 concerning Indonesian events but due to lack of time and the fact that other members of the CP, USA group held this document overly long, he was unable to do so. He characterized this document, which attacks the actions of the CP of Indonesia in its ill-fated rebellion, as the most blistering attack on another CP that he has ever seen in the Soviet Union. The CPSU contends that they had repeatedly warned the CP of Indonesia against a course of action leading up to the rebellion but had been ignored. The ultimate blame, of course, according to the CPSU, rests with the CP of China (CPC) toward whose orbit the CP of Indonesia had inclined.

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE  
Date: 5/3/66

Date: 5/3/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_ (Type in plaintext or code)

(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL (Priority)

(Priority)

**TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)**

**FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)**

SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum captioned, "International Conference of Intellectuals Planned for May, 1966, in Democratic Republic of Vietnam."

The information set forth in the enclosed letter-head memorandum was orally furnished on 4/25-29/66 by CG 5824-S\* to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified ~~TOP SECRET~~ since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been made at Washington, D.C.

③-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)

RWH:MDW  
(5)

(REC- 18

6 MAY 11 1961

Approved: M. J. [Signature] Sent                      M Per                     

65 MAY 1 1968 Special Agent in Charge

05 MAY 18 1968 Special Agent in Charge  
FBI



CG 134-46 Sub B

In connection with the information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum, CG 5824-S\* advised that the delegation from the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) met and discussed the matter concerning the International Conference of Intellectuals with ART and ESTHER SHIELDS, correspondents for "The Worker" in Moscow, USSR. It was the SHIELDSes who made the recommendations on behalf of the CP, USA during the course of their meetings with the DRV representatives and they subsequently made the information concerning this matter known to HENRY WINSTON, Chairman of the CP, USA fraternal delegation to the XXIII Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union, and to CG 5824-S\*. The source is at this time the only person in the United States who is believed privy to this information.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.  
May 3, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF INTELLECTUALS  
PLANNED FOR MAY, 1966, IN DEMOCRATIC  
REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

In April, 1966, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

Recently, Nguyen Dinh Thi, General Secretary of the Writers Union of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam (DRV) and a special representative of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, and Hoang Thinh, Editor and Correspondent of the "Nyan Dzan," official organ of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, made contact in Moscow, USSR, with representatives of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA). At this time, Nguyen Dinh Thi advised as follows:

The Writers Union of the DRV is planning an International Conference of Intellectuals for mid-May, 1966, in the DRV. He noted that at this time no publicity was desired concerning plans to hold such a conference. They would like to invite writers, artists, scientists, lawyers, professors and other intellectuals to this conference from the United States. Actually, they would be able to accommodate only five visitors from the United States but hoped to secure greetings and statements of support from others who might be invited but would not be able to attend. They would like religious figures also included among the invitees to this conference.

This would not be a political conference, according to Nguyen Dinh Thi, but simply a meeting of intellectuals who are united in opposition to the United States barbaric war against Vietnam. The purpose of this meeting would be to condemn the United States war of aggression, condemn United States atrocities, and to support the four-point program on Vietnam advanced by the DRV.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5488

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF INTELLECTUALS  
PLANNED FOR MAY, 1966, IN DEMOCRATIC  
REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

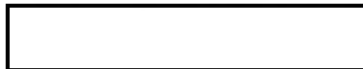
~~TOP SECRET~~

The Preparatory Committee for this International Conference of Intellectuals has a very broad base including the most prominent individuals. Presently, they are considering inviting two categories of guests. The first category of guests would include all of those who strongly support the Vietnamese people in their struggle. These would be represented by intellectuals of the socialist countries, communists of the capitalist countries, and some intellectuals of countries fighting for national liberation. The second category would include those intellectuals who sympathize but may not fully support the full four-point program of the DRV. There is only one precondition to participation in this conference and that is the attendees' willingness to condemn American aggression on moral grounds.

The sponsors of this International Conference of Intellectuals desire names and addresses and a mark of identification for each person proposed for attending. Nguyen Dinh Thi asked specifically about the possibilities of inviting the following individuals:

Dr. Linus Pauling  
Nobel Peace Prize winner

Arthur Miller  
United States playwright



b6  
b7C

Bettina Aptheker  
Self-proclaimed Communist Party member  
and student at the University of California,  
Berkeley, California

During the discussions regarding the International Conference of Intellectuals, it was pointed out to these representatives of the DRV that United States passport problems could hinder participation by United States citizens, but it was agreed that this matter would be taken up with the leadership of the CP, USA. It was further pointed out to the DRV representatives that as suggested possible invitees to the conference

~~TOP SECRET~~

INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF INTELLECTUALS  
PLANNED FOR MAY, 1966, IN DEMOCRATIC  
REPUBLIC OF VIETNAM

~~TOP SECRET~~

American Negro intellectuals should not be ignored and specifically it was suggested that Dr. Martin Luther King might be favorably inclined to accept an invitation.

Proposals regarding individuals suggested as invitees to this conference from the United States can be transmitted to a CP, USA representative in Moscow, USSR, or, as suggested by the DRV representatives, directly to Hoang Tinh whose address is: 2d Frunzenskaya Ulitsa, D. 38, Apartment 413, Moscow, USSR.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/3/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled "Remarks of Leading Representatives of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam Concerning the United States and the Situation in Vietnam."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished during the period of 4/25-29/66 by CG 5824-S\* to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified ~~TOP SECRET~~ since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest levels concerning the international communist movement and thus adversely affect the national security. To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D. C.

Relative to the document referred to herein, CG 5824-S\* furnished the following additional information:

- ③-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago

RWH/vmm:MDW  
(5)

6 MAY 11 1966

Approved: [Signature] Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

65 MAY 18 1966

Memo. Enclosure to Sullivan. Encls. 5/9/66  
RCP: [unclear]  
LHM to White House, State, CIA, A & RCP: [unclear]

*Shapiro*  
*Collette*  
*Washburn*

*al*  
✓

5489

*cc JPB with [unclear]*

*[Signature]*

CG 134-46 Sub B

According to CG 5824-S\*, the meetings with the representatives of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam referred to in the enclosed letterhead memorandum were arranged with the assistance of the CP of the Soviet Union and with the agreement of that Party. These meetings were held during the period of the XXIII Congress, CP of the Soviet Union, which was held in Moscow, 3/29-4/8/66. In addition to HENRY WINSTON, Vice Chairman, CP, USA, and the source being present at these meetings, other CP, USA participants were HYMAN LUMER and JAMES E. JACKSON. There were also additional representatives of the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam present. It was also during the course of these meetings that CG 5824-S\* provided to the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam representatives drop addresses to which communications or literature might be directed. These drop addresses were as follows:

Mr. J. CASPAR  
c/o Progress Books  
44 Stafford Street  
Toronto, Ontario, Canada

Miss NORMA HANSEL  
P.O. Box 7363  
Chicago, Illinois

In the case of the CASPAR address, WILLIAM KASHTAN, General Secretary of the CP of Canada, agreed to handle all mail received at that address and have it remailed to the source in Chicago. KASHTAN also agreed to make all necessary arrangements at Progress Books to insure the proper handling of material received there for the source under the CASPAR name.

In regard to the NORMA HANSEL address, this is a Chicago Post Office box maintained as a drop for the source and under the control of the Bureau.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.  
May 3, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

REMARKS OF LEADING REPRESENTATIVES  
OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT OF  
SOUTH VIETNAM CONCERNING THE UNITED  
STATES AND THE SITUATION IN VIETNAM

During April, 1966, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

During the period March 29 to April 8, 1966, when the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) was being held in Moscow, USSR, several meetings were held involving the fraternal delegations from the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) and the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam (NLFSV).

At the first of these meetings, Henry Winston, Vice Chairman, CP, USA, who acted as head of the United States fraternal delegation, presented greetings from the CP, USA to the people of Vietnam and the NLFSV. After such greetings, Winston delivered some brief remarks, the essence of which was as follows:

It is our wish that the South Vietnamese win their struggle against United States aggression because your cause is our cause and we are both struggling against the same common enemy. We are both fighting for a common aim, national independence and peace in the world.

Following the above remarks, Nguyen Thi Binh, a member of the Central Committee, NLFSV, and head of the NLFSV's fraternal delegation, rose and spoke to the assembled group. The essence of her remarks was as follows:

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~~Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5489

RE: REMARKS OF LEADING  
REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NLFSV

~~TOP SECRET~~

On behalf of our leaders and on behalf of the NLFSV I convey to the CP, USA our heartfelt greetings and thanks for your brave fight. We are the first victims and the people of the USA are the second victims, of U.S. aggressive imperialism. So when Americans say they fight U.S. imperialism, they are fighting for their own best interest.

We in South Viet Nam are suffering the effects of this war and we will patiently suffer, but are always aware that you too, have your problems and are suffering. The U.S. rulers are continuing this aggressive war and their ambitions still are very great. When we put an end to this war we will have finished our task, but you will still have many more tasks to complete because U.S. imperialism will still exist in many countries.

Your trade union movement faces many difficulties because the trade union leaders are not yet expressing the feelings of the rank and file. We are glad that you have been able to develop a wide movement of support to end the war in South Viet Nam. This movement in the U.S. is linked to the struggles of our people. The more victories we can win the more it will help the people of the U.S. Under the leadership of the CP, USA the people of America have developed many forms of struggle.

I understand that your Party is now working on a new program. This is something that is very necessary for you. I will not tell your Party what to do or how to conduct or organize its struggles. We can only repeat what had been told recently to one of your leaders, Bob Thompson. In talking to him we told him to find the link with the masses and their grievances against the administration of President Johnson and to combine this with the struggles in South Viet Nam. You should seek to link up with those forces who have the greatest influence in this movement, for instance, the struggles of the American mother or wife who has a son or husband fighting in South Viet Nam.

In our country, specifically in Saigon, I remember that during the period of 1959, 1960 and 1961 that we were weak and could not play the necessary role. The leaders of the workers in



REMARKS OF LEADING REPRESENTATIVES  
OF THE NLFSV

~~TOP SECRET~~

Saigon at that time were reactionaries. We had suffered many defeats then, but when we finally succeeded in combining the slogans of their daily economic demands with our political slogans, we won. Today in South Vietnam the Buddhists and the students play a very important role, but our movement still depends to a large extent on the workers, especially utility and transportation, in Saigon and other places.

We must know how to defend the interests of the workers against their enemies. Your struggle may be more difficult than ours because of your higher standard of living in the United States, but I am sure you will find the means to express the true feeling of your workers' needs. We are not in a position to suggest anything concrete. Your circumstances will bring forth creative slogans from you.

The Negro freedom movement has a deep social basis in the United States. Your problem then is how you can link the struggle of the Negro people with the aggression of United States imperialism in South Vietnam. We want to express our respect to the heroic intellectuals in the United States. You, in the CP, USA, should use the contradictions in the capitalist class in order to advance the entire movement of the working class. We can say that on the basis of present evidence that the Johnson Administration is facing its greatest difficulty. If the CP, USA could stand at the head of the broad peace movement to end the war in Vietnam, you will grow and win.

We, in the NLFSV, are grateful to you for the varied struggles you have found and undertaken in this present situation. We also think of your Party's final objectives. If you win victories, these will be victories for our struggle also.

We believe that the situation is now very favorable for the Liberation Movement and for democratic movements in all capitalist countries all over the world.

~~TOP SECRET~~

REMARKS OF LEADING REPRESENTATIVES  
OF THE NLFV

~~TOP SECRET~~

For you it is very difficult to realize how cruel the crimes have been which have been committed by your rulers in South Vietnam. They have used every weapon against us except the atomic bomb, but the cruelty is also visited upon the American soldiers in Vietnam. Those dead are not the real sufferers.

We have found that the American pilots are very experienced and older than the American soldiers. These soldiers are very young and were trained to fight a big war and at a distance, but the partisan or guerrilla war which they must face in South Vietnam is different. Modern weapons are not effective at close range in such guerrilla warfare. This is how we annihilate--and we do--whole battalions. When United States soldiers do not fight our people, we're kind to them. Often American soldiers in the field have no food and we feed them. We talk to them about their families and news from home. We treat them as men because they are not always cruel to us. We feel it would be good for you to talk to soldiers who fought in South Vietnam. They will verify this and also verify the cruelty of the United States command. If you do this then the American people will realize that they have no interest or reason to be fighting in South Vietnam, but I guess this is difficult for you. We have heard about Sergeant Donald Duncan. There is, however, also a wicked side to United States soldiers.

The number of United States troops in South Vietnam is equal to the number utilized during the Korean War. However, in South Vietnam they cannot be concentrated on a front as was done in Korea. Here in Vietnam such troops must be mobile and they cannot attack in mass especially when we attack in many places at one time. Actually, the United States soldiers are surrounded in their camps by us. In Da Nang, despite the lies you heard, our guerrillas, not even our regulars, beat the United States troops. The equipment of United States troops is very modern, but roads in Vietnam were not made for such equipment and cannot be moved when we cut the roads. As a result, the American troops have to be mainly supplied by air. However, the United States Government cannot find enough men in Saigon to supply those troops on the front lines. As a result, these troops cannot go too far from their bases or occupy territory for an extended period.

~~TOP SECRET~~

REMARKS OF LEADING REPRESENTATIVES  
OF THE NLFSV

~~TOP SECRET~~

The United States is still not mobilizing its military reserves but is instead sending its youth to Vietnam to fight. We believe that a struggle should be developed around the fact that the youth are being sent to fight in Vietnam rather than mobilizing the military reserves for this undertaking.

Until United States soldiers came to South Vietnam in mass, we did not know how to really conduct a political struggle nor, in fact, did we speak English. Now we have learned to do both. We talk to the American troops and tell them why they should not be here. When armored cars destroy our crops our people find means to ask them to stop. Women and old men protest such destruction and stop the American troops. This is a heroic fight, just like the Americans who lie down on railroad tracks and roads to protest the war in South Vietnam. We are deeply moved when we think of those Americans who have burned themselves alive or who burn their draft cards. We think people like Norman R. Morrison who burned himself alive in 1965 wanted a happy life. We want happiness, too, but because of the Johnson Government we have to fight with gun in hand. We wish that you would tell the American people that we also want a peaceful life for we have had 20 years of war now. However, peace will come and when it does we will be rid of all United States soldiers. We will continue our fight as long as troops are in South Vietnam. The American people also must fight this imperialist aggression. We wish the American people good fortune.

A number of days later, the CP, USA fraternal delegation again met with representatives of the NLFSV. On this occasion Comrade Minh, the head of the permanent mission of the NLFSV assigned to Moscow, was the spokesman. The essence of Comrade Minh's remarks was as follows:

The aims of the NLFSV are peace in South Vietnam. It was the United States who violated the Geneva Agreement and installed the regime of terror in South Vietnam. The losses resulting from the terror of the present conflict have been big, even by present standards, but we will keep on working politically and at the same time build our army. In South

~~TOP SECRET~~

REMARKS OF LEADING REPRESENTATIVES  
OF THE NLFSV

~~TOP SECRET~~

Vietnam every family has suffered some losses and lost some member of their family. Some of the villages have been burned and destroyed a dozen times, but we keep right on rebuilding them and, in fact, rebuild them bigger than before. This is an example of our great will to win. One village of 72 homes was burned by United States troops and when the troops left the village we mobilized the people and the village was rebuilt the same night. When the American troops returned the next day they were astounded. We also have been surprised by the industry which has been shown by our people in this regard. This is again a clear illustration of the iron will of the people and their desire to win their present struggles.

In South Vietnam there was at one time some thirty minority groups. Before the intervention of the United States into South Vietnam only three of these groups had their own alphabets. Many of these minority groups were scattered in the highlands of South Vietnam and lived as nomads. Most of them could not write or read and many did not even know their age. Within five short years the NLFSV has been able to settle thirteen of these minority groups and they are no longer nomads. They now till the land and have built schools, etc. In ordinary times it would have taken centuries to have settled these nomadic people, but now the times are different.

We, in the NLFSV, have now learned how to conduct political struggles. We are learning how to get close to the United States troops and we become friendly with them in order to show them that there is no hostility on the part of the Vietnamese people. We show them that we are ordinary people and are only seeking peace. We have found out that the United States soldiers also would like to go back to their families. They accept our leaflets and books which are published by the NLFSV. But when the United States troops burn our villages, the people must resist and they have found it necessary to kill Americans.

Le Duan, First Secretary of the Working People's Party of Vietnam, has already told you that we are certain we will win, both political and military victories in Vietnam. When your President Johnson says the NLFSV, even if they are talked to, is only one of the participants in the struggle in Vietnam, This is only a cover for Johnson's Saigon Government. This Saigon Government has no base and it is condemned by the Vietnamese people.

~~TOP SECRET~~

REMARKS OF LEADING REPRESENTATIVES  
OF THE NLFSV

~~TOP SECRET~~

We of the NLFSV ask for the withdrawal of United States troops from South Vietnam. We want your support and the support of the American people on this matter. We are convinced we have all the possibilities essential for victory. The struggles in Saigon are broadening and there is a broad movement developing among the people in the United States for peace.

President Johnson sometimes talks of including the NLFSV in negotiations. No one is asking him to do this. He is only looking for excuses to justify the maintenance of the United States position in South Vietnam. Even the people in the South Vietnamese cities are against the United States and everyone knows this, including your President. Even the puppet troops of South Vietnam are not with the Saigon Government of Premier Nguyen Cao Ky. The NLFSV will not fall into the trap of negotiating as long as United States troops continue to stay in South Vietnam. We know that in the future the United States will have to negotiate, but at that time it will be on a different basis and at a time when circumstances are more favorable to the NLFSV.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/3/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies each and for the New York Office one copy each of the following letterhead memoranda captioned:

- 1) "XV Congress, Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, June 7, 1966;"
- 2) "XIII Congress, Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, May 31, 1966."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memoranda was orally furnished by CG 5824-S\* during the period of 4/25-29/66 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memoranda are classified ~~TOP SECRET~~ since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement thus adversely affecting the national security.

- 2nd 904  
③-Bureau (Enc. 5) (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 5) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago

RWH:MDW  
(5)

REC 8

100-428091-5490  
6 MAY 11 1966

Approved: 8470 mg  
65 MAY 1 1966 Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

CG 134-46 Sub B

To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memoranda have been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D. C.

The source has advised that the formal invitation to send a representative to the 15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, as well as the formal invitation to send a representative to the 13th Congress of the CP of Czechoslovakia, were turned over to the CP, USA fraternal delegation while they were in attendance at the 23rd Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union held 3/29-4/8/66 in Moscow. When these invitations were received, the CP, USA delegation reciprocated by extending both of these Parties formal invitations to send fraternal delegates to the 18th National Convention of the CP, USA to be held in NYC, 6/66.

For the information of the Bureau and New York, there is enclosed herewith one Xerox copy each of the following documents:

- 1) Original invitation of the CP of Czechoslovakia to the CP, USA to send a fraternal representative to the 13th Congress, CP of CZ (this invitation appears in the Czech language);
- 2) Official translation in English made by the CP of CZ of the above-noted letter;
- 3) Letter from the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party inviting the CP, USA to send a fraternal representative to the 15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (this formal invitation was in the Russian language);
- 4) Official English translation of the above-noted invitation.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

May 3, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

XV CONGRESS, MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S  
REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, JUNE 7, 1966

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, during April, 1966, advised as follows:

The XV Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) will be held in Ulan Bator on June 7, 1966, and will have the following agenda:

- 1) Report of the Central Committee;
- 2) Report of the Central Auditing Committee;
- 3) Adoption of a new Programme of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party;
- 4) Directives on the Fourth Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the MPR for 1966-1970; and,
- 5) Election of the Central Bodies of the MPRP.

The invitations to this Congress are being issued in the name of the Central Committee, MPRP, and note the following:

The participation of your representative in the Congress as our guest of honor and your solidarity will be a great support to the communists and the working people of our country in their peaceful construction work for building a socialist society in the MPR and will promote the development of friendly ties and close cooperation between our two Parties in the interest of rallying the ranks of the international communist movement, for the triumph of our common cause.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1~~

~~excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5490



XV CONGRESS, MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S  
REVOLUTIONARY PARTY, JUNE 7, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

Among the various Communist and Workers' Parties which have been invited to send delegates to the XV Congress of the MPRP is the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA). Specifically, they have been invited to send one fraternal representative and the expenses for this individual's travel will be taken care of by the MPRP.

As of April, 1966, the CP, USA had not as yet designated any representative to attend this Congress.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

May 3, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

XIII CONGRESS, COMMUNIST PARTY OF  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA, MAY 31, 1966

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, during April, 1966, advised as follows:

The XIII Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia (CPCZ) is scheduled to be held in Prague, Czechoslovakia, commencing May 31, 1966, and will have the following agenda:

- 1) Report on the Activities of the Central Committee and other tasks of the Party;
- 2) Report of the Central Control and Revision Commission;
- 3) Discussion;
- 4) Resolution of the XIII Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia;
- 5) Election of the central organs of the Party.

The Central Committee, CPCZ, is extending formal invitations to various Communist and Workers' Parties throughout the world requesting they send representatives to this Congress. The invitations are being issued over the name of Antonin Novotny, First Secretary of the Central Committee, CPCZ, and they state that the presence of such fraternal representatives at the XIII Congress of the CPCZ would be an expression of comradely relations linking such Parties. Representatives of the fraternal delegations will be invited to address the Congress; however, such speeches of each visiting representative will be limited to a maximum of five to six minutes' duration.

~~TOP SECRET~~  
~~Group 1~~  
~~excluded from automatic~~  
~~downgrading and~~  
~~declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5490

XIII CONGRESS, COMMUNIST PARTY OF  
CZECHOSLOVAKIA, MAY 31, 1966.

~~TOP SECRET~~

Among the various Communist and Workers' Parties which have been extended invitations to participate in this Congress is the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA). This latter Party has been invited to send one representative and the CPCZ will handle all expenses, including that individual's transportation. At the present time, the identity of the CP, USA representative, if any, who will attend this Congress is unknown.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

ENCLOSURES (4) TO BUREAU FROM CHICAGO

One Xerox copy each of 4 documents  
re future Congresses of MPRP & CPCZ

RE: SOLO  
IS-C

Bufile 100-428091  
CGfile 134-46 Sub B

Transmitted via CGairtel to Bureau 5/3/66

100-428091-5490

## Монгол Ардын Хувьсгалт Намын

### Төв Хороо

1966 оны 3 дугаар сарын 26 "

Улаанбаатар хот

#### АМЕРИКАН ХӨГДСӨН УЛСЫН КОММУНИСТ НАМЫН ҮНДЭСНИЙ ХОРООНД

#### Нью-Йорк хот

Эрхэм нөхөд өө!

Монгол Ардын Хувьсгалт Намын ээлжит ХУ их хурал 1966 оны зургадугаар сарын 7-нд Улаанбаатар хотноо нээгдэж, дор дурдсан зсуудал хэлэлцэнэ. Үүнд:

1. Намын Төв Хорооны тайлан илтгэл
2. Намын Төв Салтан Байцаах Комиссын илтгэл
3. Монгол Ардын Хувьсгалт Намын шинэ программ батлах
4. БНМАУ-ын улс ардын аж ахуй, соёлыг 1966-1970 онд хөгжүүлэх ТУ таван жилийн төлөвлөгөөний удирдамж.
5. Намын Төв байгууллагуудыг сонгох.

Монгол Ардын Хувьсгалт Намын Төв Хороо үүнийг мэдэгдэж, өөрийн намын ХУ их хуралд танай намын төлөөлөгчийг урьж байна.

Танай төлөөлөгч манай намын их хуралд зочноор оролцож, Та бүхэн эв санааны нэгдлээ илэрхийлэх нь БНМАУ-д социалист нийгэм байгуулахын төлөө зориг бадрангуй хөдөлмөрлөж, буй манай орны коммунистууд, хөдөлмөрчдөд дэмжлэг болж, олон улсын коммунист хөдөлгөөний эрнээг бэхжүүлэх, манай нийтийн үйл хэргийг ялуулах эрх айргийн үүднээс манай хоёр намын харилцааг хөгжүүлэхэд тус дөхөм үзүүлэх юм.

Манай энэ уриалгыг талаар хэрхэн шийдсэнээ Та бүхэн мэдэгдвэл бид их баярлана.

Коммунист ёсны баяр хүргэсэн

МОНГОЛ АРДЫН ХУВЬСГАЛТ НАМЫН  
ТӨВ ХОРОО



1003  
1003X

Translation from Mongolian

National Committee,  
Communist Party of the United States,  
New York.

Dear Comrades,

The 15th Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party will be held in Ulan Bator on June 7, 1966 with the following agenda:—

- ( 1 ) Report of the Central Committee;
- ( 2 ) Report of the Central Auditing Committee;
- ( 3 ) Adoption of a new Programme of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party;
- ( 4 ) Directives on the Fourth Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the MPR for 1966-1970 and
- ( 5 ) Election of the Central Bodies of the MPRP.

While informing of this, the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party extends to the National Committee of the Communist Party of the United States an invitation to send a delegate to attend the 15th Congress of the MPRP.

The participation of your representative in the Congress as our guest of honour and your solidarity will be a great support to the communists and the working people of our country in their peaceful construction work for building a socialist society in the MPR and will promote the development of friendly ties and close cooperation between our two parties in the interest of rallying the ranks of the international communist movement, for the triumph of our common cause.

We would be most grateful to you, dear Comrades, if you let us know of the decision be taken on this matter.

With communist greetings,

Central Committee of the Mongolian  
People's Revolutionary Party.

Ulan Bator, March 26, 1966.

ÚSTŘEDNÍ VÝBOR KOMUNISTICKÉ STRANY ČESKOSLOVENSKA

V Praze dne " 7 " dubna 1966

Ústřední výbor

Komunistické strany Spojených států Amerických

Draží soudruzi,

Ústřední výbor Komunistické strany Československa  
co nejsrdečněji zve představitele Komunistické strany  
Spojených států Amerických k účasti na XIII. sjezdu naší  
strany, který bude zahájen 31. května 1966 v Praze s tímto  
pořadem jednání:

1. Zpráva o činnosti ústředního výboru a další  
úkoly strany.
2. Zpráva ústřední kontrolní a revizní komise.
3. Diskuse.
4. Usnesení XIII. sjezdu KSČ.
5. Volby ústředních orgánů strany.

Účast vašeho představitele na sjezdu bude výrazem  
soudružských vztahů, jež spojují obě naše bratrské strany.  
Věříme, draží soudruzi, že přijmete naše pozvání a prosíme,  
abyste nám sdělili jméno vašeho delegáta.

S komunistickým pozdravem



UŠTŘEDNÍ VÝBOR KOMUNISTICKÉ STRANY ČESKOSLOVENSKA

Prague, April " " 1966

The Central Committee,  
Communist Party of the United States  
of America

Dear Comrades,

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia invites most cordially a representative of your Party to attend the 13th Congress of our Party which will open in Prague, on May 31st, 1966, and will have the following agenda:

1. Report on the Activities of the Central Committee and other tasks of the Party.
2. Report of the Central Control and Revision Commission.
3. Discussion.
4. Resolution of the 13th Congress of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.
5. Election of the central organs of the Party.

The presence of your representative at the Congress will be an expression of the comradely relations linking our two fraternal Parties.

We are confident, dear comrades, that you will accept our invitation and we ask you to inform us of the name of your representative.

With fraternal greetings,

A. NOVOTNÝ

First secretary of the C.C. of the C.P.  
of Czechoslovakia



F B I

Date: 5/4/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for New York one copy of a letterhead memorandum captioned, "Report by Representative of Brazilian Communist Party, April, 1966, on Domestic Situation and Communist Party Status in Brazil."

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished during the period 4/25-29; 5/4/66 by CG 5824-S\* to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement thus adversely affecting the national security.

To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D. C.

- 1 + 1 encl 904-100-428091-5491  
③-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago

RWH:MDW  
(5)

6 MAY 11 1966

Approved: *[Signature]*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

65 MAY 25 1966

TOP COPY LEFT TO WALTER HANSEN  
STAT, CIA, DEFENSE AC DAC  
5/9/66 NJM:PAH

*[Handwritten signature]*  
*[Handwritten signature]*

*[Handwritten initials]*

*[Handwritten note: 904-100-428091-5491]*

*[Handwritten signature: ATK]*

*[Handwritten signature: W58]*

CG 134-46 Sub B

CG 5824-S\* advised that the report delivered by the representative of the Brazilian CP and referred to in the enclosed letterhead memorandum had been made at a meeting held in Moscow, USSR, 4/4/66. The meeting was requested by the CP, USA fraternal delegation to the XXIII Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union and set up with the consent and assistance of the CP of the Soviet Union. CP, USA representatives who attended this meeting were the source, HYMAN LUMER, HENRY WINSTON, and JAMES JACKSON. Three individuals participated for the Brazilian CP, including the spokesman who reportedly is the Chief Deputy to LUIS CARLOS PRESTES, General Secretary of the Brazilian CP. The source stated that none of the Brazilians were identified by name, true or otherwise, at this time, but he believed that there was some reference to the names of the Brazilian CP delegation made in an issue of "Pravda" published sometime after the conclusion of the XXIII Congress. The source will attempt to find this reference, if any, to the Brazilian delegation. However, source also advised that in his opinion the names which might have been set forth in "Pravda" may have been pseudonyms and, therefore, still would not properly identify these individuals.

The source, in addition, remarked that it was during the course of this meeting that HENRY WINSTON, head of the CP, USA fraternal delegation, extended a formal invitation to the CP of Brazil to attend the 18th National Convention of the CP, USA, 6/66. In accepting this invitation, the Brazilian CP representative did not indicate whether or not they would attempt to send a delegate but did comment that they also intended to hold a Congress later this year.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D.C.

May 4, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

REPORT BY REPRESENTATIVE OF BRAZILIAN COMMUNIST  
PARTY, APRIL, 1966, ON DOMESTIC SITUATION AND  
COMMUNIST PARTY STATUS IN BRAZIL

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, during May, 1966, furnished the following information:

During April, 1966, a representative of the Brazilian Communist Party (CP), then in Moscow, USSR, for the purpose of attending the XXIII Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union, held March 29 to April 8, 1966, delivered a report to the fraternal delegation of the CP, USA dealing with the domestic situation and the Party status in Brazil. This Brazilian CP representative, who is believed to hold the position of Chief Deputy to Luis Carlos Prestes, General Secretary, Brazilian CP, was not identified by true name and is reportedly one of the CP leaders now being sought by the Brazilian Government for criminal prosecution. The essence of this Brazilian CP representative's remarks was as follows:

We are glad to meet and we had instructions from Comrade Luis Prestes and our leadership to meet with you. Brazil is now under the regime of a dictatorship which is not popular and arose as a result of the coup d'etat of April, 1964. The United States Department of State and Pentagon had been preparing for a number of years before 1964 for this coup. After the death of President Kennedy, things in Brazil took a turn for the worse. Therefore, to offset the democratic and national mass movements in Brazil, the old reactionary forces led by the military undertook their coup. This was done to smash the united front movement of twenty-one political parties which included Juan Goulart's party, the Brazilian Labor Party.

~~TOP SECRET~~  
Group 1,  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification

ENCLOSURE

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5491

REPORT BY REPRESENTATIVE OF BRAZILIAN  
CP, APRIL, 1966, ON DOMESTIC SITUATION  
AND CP STATUS IN BRAZIL

~~TOP SECRET~~

Ostensibly, the reactionaries started their coup in "defense of the constitution." At the same time, they also shouted about the defense of the family, the church, and were against communists. Actually, before the coup, the reactionaries had succeeded in rupturing the united front of the 21-Party organizations. The balance of forces in the united front changed in favor of the reactionaries and the democratic forces were defeated.

Initially, this coup did have some mass support from the middle class, particularly in Sao Paulo and other places, under the various guises of protecting democracy, the constitution, and fighting inflation. They used anti-communism to cap the situation.

The forces that undertook the coup were dominated by a group called "Sorbonne," the elite of the Brazilian military and technocrats, lawyers, physicians, shop owners, and traders. All of these had good relations with United States capitalists and firms. The leaders of the coup had a program based on geo-politics. Brazil they believe belongs to the Western Hemisphere and civilization. It was this group that seized the presidency. In the field of finance and economy, they depended upon the International Monetary Fund. In the political field they suppressed democracy. In the social field they acted against the interest of the people. They wanted to liquidate labor legislation and reduce wages. They wanted to persecute and destroy the rights of the trade unions. They did achieve this in Brazil.

The people of Brazil now feel the burden of the fiscal policy of this government. The burden of taxation has now shifted to the shoulders of the masses. In the field of politics this government has deprived the masses of many rights, including the right to vote. In reality, the right to vote has been liquidated. At this time the president has power to suspend Congress, usurp the power of the courts, and many others.

The new government has arranged for the indirect election of the president. Governors are also elected in this same manner. Mayors, at least in the capitol cities of the

~~TOP SECRET~~

REPORT BY REPRESENTATIVE OF BRAZILIAN  
CP, APRIL, 1966, ON DOMESTIC SITUATION  
AND CP STATUS IN BRAZIL

---

~~TOP SECRET~~

various States, will also be appointed by the Governors. This will limit the masses from participation in elections because they are backward and ignorant.

Today, political prisoners are being tried by military courts. There is an example of a trade union leader being sentenced to thirty years in prison because he was the head of a trade union during the government of Goulart. These military courts have put on trial students, priests, etc., only because they were leaders of the people.

As a result of the repressions and persecutions, the dictatorship is now losing its social base. The small business people are now turning away from the regime. Workers never really supported the coup or the dictatorship. In fact, workers opposed the coup by strikes and other actions. Even workers who did not go out on strike were indifferent and did not give their support to the dictatorship. Similarly, peasants never gave support to the coup.

Now to sum it all up. The policy of the dictatorship is against the natural interest of the people. If we want to characterize its foreign policy, it can be said that this military government believes "what is good for the U.S. is good for Brazil." The social base of the dictatorship is narrowing. All decisions are now in the hands of the military and have been taken away from the politicians. As a result, there is a struggle among the military for power.

We can now say that possibilities do exist for the toppling of the leadership if the existing forces can organize themselves and unite. The objective of the CP is to unite all of those who want to oppose the dictatorship and aim toward the liquidation of the military dictatorship and the creation of a new democratic Brazil consisting of all forces who fight for democracy.

As to the status of the present government and nationalized industry. The present policy of this government is to take the government out of business. However, the oil monopoly still exists and is very popular among the people. For the time being the law has been renewed which

~~TOP SECRET~~

REPORT BY REPRESENTATIVE OF BRAZILIAN  
CP, APRIL, 1966, ON DOMESTIC SITUATION  
AND CP STATUS IN BRAZIL

~~TOP SECRET~~

will hold the oil monopoly for the state but ultimately it will be given away to private individuals. The United States Department of State and the International Monetary Fund force this "new" policy.

Where is Goulart? He is in exile.

As to the CP as an organization. It is completely underground in all areas of Brazil. We had to do it. But we are so organized that we are prepared to take any advantage of legal possibilities in the future. Before the coup, the CP was predominantly legal. Today, we have the problem of how to combine legal with illegal work. The CP is active in factories and shops. We seek to correct old shortcomings in our work. In the past, we paid too much attention to leaders. Today we go to the masses below in shops and factories. We have had good results, especially in trade unions, despite police and political discrimination. Those who are not known as communists get elected but when police find out the election is nullified.

All Party printing of newspapers is done underground. All of our printing equipment, book shops, and libraries have been confiscated. Book burning is widespread in Brazil, including even material of those non-communists. We publish a weekly, "The Workers Voice," with 25,000 circulation. We also are publishing the "World Marxist Review" in Brazil but circulation is unknown.

Ten thousand people are now on trial in Brazil and the majority of them are communists. Most of our cadre escaped. Despite the numerous charges, we are not leaving the country and most of the leadership is in the country in order to organize the struggle against the dictatorship. After the coup there was some antagonism against the CP but this is now disappearing and we have now gained in prestige.

We ask that the CP, USA organize solidarity for those in our Party now on trial in Brazil and submit protests against

~~TOP SECRET~~

REPORT BY REPRESENTATIVE OF BRAZILIAN  
CP, APRIL, 1966, ON DOMESTIC SITUATION  
AND CP STATUS IN BRAZIL

~~TOP SECRET~~

fascist legislation and persecution of the intellectuals, trade union leaders, etc., in our country. We also ask that you request that the Brazilian Government suppress charges against Prestes and our Central Committee. Soon we hear they will sentence political leaders in abstentia. In Brazil there now exists some 800 military commissions or inquisitions who arrest and sentence without trial. There are over 3,000 military personnel involved in these commissions.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE  
FBI

Date: 5/4/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Afro-Asian-Latin American Solidarity Organization Conference, Also Known As Tri-Continental Congress, Havana, Cuba, January 3 to 15, 1966."

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished during the period 4/25-29/66 by CG 5824-S\* to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement thus adversely affecting the national security.

To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

- 1-9049 + Dwyer, [unclear]  
③-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)  
1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago

RWH:MDW  
(5)

REC 8

6 MAY 11 1966

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Letter to State & CIA  
5/10/66 RHP: [unclear]



CG 134-46 Sub B

The information set forth in the enclosed letter-head memorandum was developed during a meeting at which CG 5824-S\* and other CP, USA representatives were present and which was held on 4/7/66 in Moscow, USSR, with representatives of the CP of Uruguay. Both the CP, USA and the CP of Uruguay representatives were in Moscow, USSR, at this time to attend the XXIII Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.

May 4, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

AFRO-ASIAN-LATIN AMERICAN SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION  
CONFERENCE, ALSO KNOWN AS TRI-CONTINENTAL CONGRESS,  
HAVANA, CUBA, JANUARY 3 TO 15, 1966

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, during April, 1966, advised as follows:

In discussions he held in Moscow, USSR, April, 1966, Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary, Communist Party (CP) of Uruguay, raised the matter of the recent Afro-Asian-Latin American Solidarity Organization Conference, also known as the Tri-Continental Congress, held in Havana, Cuba, January 3 to 15, 1966. The essence of Arismendi's remarks in connection with this Tri-Continental Congress was as follows:

The main characteristics of the Tri-Continental Congress were positive. The fact that the people's movements of three continents gathered in one place for such discussions is important and it reflected a new stage of struggle embracing the whole world. The Chinese delegation wanted the Congress to remain in the frame of "storm zones." They had laid plans to confront the USSR but they did not succeed. The USSR, as well as other socialist countries of Europe and even some trade unions, participated fully.

The Congress voted for the unity of the liberation movement with socialism and also made appeals to the people of the United States and the workers of Europe. The Chinese failed to create the dissension they had hoped for. The speech which was best received and most effective was that of S. R. Rashidov, alternate member of the Political Bureau, CP of the Soviet Union. He called for the elimination of all polemics and said what we want to stress is the need for unity. The world CP movement united at this Congress in order to get rid of some possible future difficulties. Plans were also made to hold the 1968 Congress of the group in Cairo, United Arab Republic.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5492

AFRO-ASIAN-LATIN AMERICAN SOLIDARITY  
ORGANIZATION CONFERENCE, AKA TRI-  
CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, HAVANA, CUBA,  
JANUARY 3 TO 15, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

While in the main the results of the Congress were positive, there were also some negative moments. There was some excessive use of "revolutionary" phrases in the speeches. In certain instances, the make-up of the leadership of the Congress made certain maneuvers possible. Also, some Asian delegates, close to China, were placed on some of the important commissions. Also, the Latin American representation, in the future, may cause some difficulties.

From the Latin American point of view, it was felt the petty bourgeoisie wanted to control the leadership of the Congress. The Latin American Committee of Solidarity organized out of this Congress and comprised of representatives from nine Latin American countries can play a big role in Latin America's future. We must work in this organization. Although some wanted to transform this organization into a center or "comintern" for Latin America, they did not succeed. In each country left forces should work only for solidarity.

How were resolutions adopted at this Congress? They were introduced as drafts and then presented to a commission consisting of Algeria, United Arab Republic, Vietnam, North Korea, and Cuba. Final drafts when received by this commission then went to the political commission.

How was the resolution to liquidate Israel adopted? A resolution which had a two-thirds vote of its commission was adopted without having to go to a plenary session. The commission which handled this resolution on Israel had a concentration from the Arab countries. They adopted the resolution without the vote of Uruguay or Argentina. The USSR was not represented on this commission.

Regarding the Dominican Republic--the Party there changed leadership. It is new and raw and contains some people with doubtful intentions. It is our responsibility to help this Party and orient them. Their Party is small with only some hundreds of members.

As to the composition of the Cuban delegation, it was diplomatic.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/5/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

Re Bureau telephone call to Chicago 5/5/66 and New York airtel 4/29/66, captioned as above, enclosing letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "Communist Party of the Soviet Union Document Entitled 'Economic, Technical and Military Cooperation Between the USSR and the Developing Countries.' "

Enclosed herewith are four copies to the Bureau, and one to New York, of two amended pages for the above LHM.

On 5/5/66 CG 5824-S\* advised that a recheck of his notes relating to this matter revealed that in each instance on the above referred to pages where he referred to billions of rubles, the reference should have been to millions of rubles. Enclosed corrected pages reflect this change.

- 1-904.940 with 2 enclosures
- ③ - Bureau (Encls. 8) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

WAB/mes  
(5)

REC 8 100-428091-5493

RECORDED  
6 MAY 11 1966

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M

Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

65 APR 25 1966

# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/5/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)

Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)  
FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)  
SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

*5-5-66*  
*Ry*

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "MEETING BETWEEN LEADERS OF COMMUNIST PARTY, SOVIET UNION, AND FRATERNAL DELEGATION FROM COMMUNIST PARTY, USA, TO 23RD CONGRESS, COMMUNIST PARTY, SOVIET UNION, APRIL, 1966."

*Drake*

The information in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished on 4/25-29/66 by CG 5824-S\* to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed LHM has been classified "~~Top Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

*McGuire*

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared in Washington, D. C.

*AG*

CG 5824-S\* advised that the meeting referred to

- 1-9349-D with *1-9349-D*
- ③ - Bureau (Encl. 4) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (RM) DISSEMINATION TO
- 1 - Chicago

WAB/mes  
(5)

*cc Bureau*

REC 100-428091-5

*Hans-5/11/66*  
*Walters, State, 5-11-66*  
*5494*

6 MAY 11 1966

Approved: *MD*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

65 MAY 18 1966

CG 134-46 Sub B

herein took place on 4/15/66, one week after the close of the 23rd Congress, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). The members of the CP, USA delegation had been anxious after the Congress to leave Moscow and travel to other parts of the USSR. CG 5824-S\* prevailed upon them to remain in Moscow and insist upon a meeting with a member of the newly elected Political Bureau of the CPSU. Eventually, the meeting was arranged, the essence of which is set forth in the enclosed LHM. Relative to SUSLOV's request that a member of the CP, USA remain in Moscow during May, 1966, for a discussion of the new draft program of the CP, USA, CG 5824-S\* related that members of the CP, USA delegation attempted to persuade him to remain in Moscow or return to Moscow to participate in this discussion with SUSLOV in mid-May, 1966. CG 5824-S\* steadfastly refused. However, he did prepare a written document concerning salient points of the program which should be stressed and turned this over to HENRY WINSTON for his assistance in his preparations for this discussion with SUSLOV.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.

May 5, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

MEETING BETWEEN LEADERS OF COMMUNIST  
PARTY, SOVIET UNION, AND FRATERNAL  
DELEGATION FROM COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,  
TO XXIII CONGRESS, COMMUNIST PARTY,  
SOVIET UNION, APRIL, 1966

During April, 1966, a source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised as follows:

Sometime following the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) held in Moscow, USSR, from March 29 to April 8, 1966, members of the fraternal delegation from the CP, USA to the Congress met with several leaders of the CPSU. Among those present at this meeting were the following: Mikhail A. Suslov, a member of the Political Bureau and a Secretary of the Central Committee, CPSU; Boris N. Ponomarev, a Secretary of the Central Committee and head of the International Department, Central Committee, CPSU; Henry Winston, Vice Chairman, CP, USA; James Jackson, member of the Secretariat, CP, USA, and publisher of "The Worker", an East Coast communist newspaper; and Hyman Lumer, a member of the Secretariat and Educational Director of the CP, USA. In substance, the discussion proceeded as follows:

Suslov opened the discussion: I am happy to meet with you today and want to express the thanks of the CPSU for such a representative delegation from the CP, USA, to our Congress. Your participation helped to raise the level of our Congress, providing an example of proletarian solidarity. All of our comrades, including Comrades Brezhnev, Podgorny and Kosygin (Leonid I. Brezhnev, First Secretary, Central Committee,

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~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5494

MEETING BETWEEN LEADERS OF COMMUNIST  
PARTY, SOVIET UNION, AND FRATERNAL  
DELEGATION FROM COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,  
TO XXIII CONGRESS, COMMUNIST PARTY,  
SOVIET UNION, APRIL, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

CPSU; Nikolai V. Podgorny, member of the Political Bureau, Central Committee, CPSU, and Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR; and Premier Alexei N. Kosygin, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR), and others, have asked me to convey their greetings and thanks also. We are sorry that your General Secretary, Gus Hall, is not here with us but we sincerely hope that we will see him here on Soviet soil later this year.

Winston, on behalf of the CP, USA delegation, replied: On behalf of all of us and on behalf of Gus Hall and our Party, I wish to extend greetings to Comrade Brezhnev and to your XXIII Congress. We want to thank you for inviting us to participate. The development of your line - the brilliance of your line - developed at the Congress is an inspiration for all of us. From beginning to end the speeches by Comrades Brezhnev and Kosygin and by you showed that the XXIII Congress breathes the spirit of proletarian internationalism. We are inspired by the realistic objectives of your five year plan; it has meaning not only for the people of the Soviet Union but also for all humanity.

We express our gratitude and thanks to the CPSU for its role of leadership in the struggle for unity of the world communist movement. There is a growing unity to begin with in the socialist camp and this has inspired others. We support those policies of yours that lead to unity of the world communist movement.

On the basic question of peace, the policy as presented in your Congress is in line with the peoples peace movement in the United States. The people in the United States are beginning to see the peace loving role of the SU. The development of the peace movement is becoming broader than ever and is proceeding on all levels. This movement also involves millions who may not be anti-imperialist but who are against war. The forms of struggle are many and varied and are not solely confined to mass demonstrations, petitions, newspaper advertisements, etc. The struggle also has its political aspects. We can see that a political bloc is developing led by Senators Robert Kennedy, J. William Fullbright and Wayne Morse. There is the possibility that the next Congressional elections in the United States will provide the forum for the continuing struggle against the imperialist war in Vietnam and we have the possibility of scoring new gains in these elections.

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MEETING BETWEEN LEADERS OF COMMUNIST  
PARTY, SOVIET UNION, AND FRATERNAL  
DELEGATION FROM COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,  
TO XXIII CONGRESS, COMMUNIST PARTY,  
SOVIET UNION, APRIL, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

The immediate problem is how to bring this dirty United States war to an end. Some of the proposals demand settlement by recourse to the United Nations, or a return to Geneva agreements, or just to stop the bombing. We have to be able to lead the masses in the United States that oppose the war but we are confronted with the problem of supporting negotiations in the face of the refusal of both sides to engage in meaningful exchange on the question of negotiations. We cannot ignore these millions who oppose this war. We cannot limit ourselves to a narrow position. This movement requires flexible tactics.

The basic problem at this time is peace. The trade union movement is only beginning to become really involved. Gus Hall is now giving his personal leadership to this phase of our work to move the working class in the trade unions on this question. Within this objective situation a profound breakthrough is possible for the building of our CP. The objective conditions exist for this, with communists breaking through on an equal basis with other groups in the United States. This is why we are able to hold a public convention from June 22 to 26, 1966 (18th National Convention, CP, USA). We are issuing a new draft program of the CP, USA, and our objective is to distribute one million copies to the people of the United States. This is provoking the biggest public discussion ever in the United States. We believe we are reaching the opinion makers and the real public leaders in our country.

Once more I extend the thanks of our Party for inviting us to your XXIII Congress, where we listened to your ringing international call for support of the just struggle of the Vietnamese people.

Suslov then continued: Thank you for your warm words concerning our Congress and our policy on Vietnam and for the information you have given us about the life and democratic movement in the United States and about your Party. We are satisfied with our Congress. Not only our Party is satisfied, but also all our people are satisfied. We see a good life ahead for the people of our country.

Your presence at our Congress helped us to achieve

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MEETING BETWEEN LEADERS OF COMMUNIST  
PARTY, SOVIET UNION, AND FRATERNAL  
DELEGATION FROM COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,  
TO XXIII CONGRESS, COMMUNIST PARTY,  
SOVIET UNION, APRIL, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

the success that we did. I want you to know that the twelve and a half million CPSU members and the Soviet people as a whole listened and read with interest the speeches of the fraternal delegates on international spirit. We consider that this Congress added to the cohesion of the entire international movement. The fact that so many fraternal Parties sent delegations to this Congress means that we can move forward in the mobilization of the world communist movement, united in struggle. Our XXIII Congress, at which 86 fraternal Communist and Workers Parties were present, provides a striking contrast with the New Zealand Congress, who represent only 250 members and at which there was no other delegation of a real Party except the CP of China. That is how history shows the correctness of our line.

We express our thanks to the CP, USA for your further help in consolidating the world communist movement. Your and our ideological position is cast in the same mold of Marxism - Leninism. We fully appreciate that the CP, USA is waging its struggle under the most difficult positions, that it fights for a principled position on the basis of Marxism - Leninism. We will continue to work for unity and for peace, against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and for the success of the national liberation movement. We will be patient with the CP of China, while at the same time protecting our principles.

We are pleased that solidarity with the Vietnamese people was stressed and emphasized at the Congress and by your Party. On the Vietnamese problem, our views are identical with theirs. They have asked us for material aid and military assistance and I assure you they get all they ask for. This time they did not ask for more; aid is literally flowing to Vietnam. In this way we demonstrate once again that we are fulfilling our proletarian international duty. If the escalation of the war by the United States continues, they will meet with a firm rebuff and we will send more and more aid to the Vietnamese people.

We highly appreciate the broad peace movement against Johnson's policy in the United States. In such a movement there are bound to be some differences, so we understand your flexible tactic and the many forms that you use. Some forms are acceptable to the broad masses who are not ready to accept more radical demands.

~~TOP SECRET~~

MEETING BETWEEN LEADERS OF COMMUNIST  
PARTY, SOVIET UNION, AND FRATERNAL  
DELEGATION FROM COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,  
TO XXIII CONGRESS, COMMUNIST PARTY,  
SOVIET UNION, APRIL, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

We are glad that this movement is broadening. We are watching your Party's work in the peace movement, in the Negro freedom movement, among youth, etc. One can sense that your Party is now much more active, is broadening, and is working under better conditions. This makes us happy. We are happy to hear of the emergence of new conditions for the building of your Party and of the opinion that your convention in these new conditions has great significance. Since your new draft program is going to be discussed, I will comment that this is the first time in your history that your Party is telling the masses about the aims of communism. This will undoubtedly enhance the prestige and influence of your Party.

Our work is just starting. Our five year plan is of great scope. Even the world press admits that the tasks set forth in our new five year plan are realistic. But the tasks which we have set for ourselves, nevertheless, are big. In terms of quantity, there exists great potential for advancement in our living conditions, in our defense capabilities, etc. But there will be a scientific leap also. We are convinced that we will fulfill this plan. We have a wonderful cadre and technology and of first importance we have the determination of our people to fulfill the tasks of this plan. The mood of determination of our Party I am sure you felt at the Congress; but the work itself is another matter, but we will do it. The first three months have passed and this is a five year plan. Already some of our management are complaining that certain parts of the plan are difficult to fulfill and that there are some imbalances in the plan. But even during the first three months the plan has been fulfilled 104 per cent. So our warm-up period has been good. We know that we are on course and should stick to it.

It was with great attention that we listened to your speech at the Congress, Comrade Winston, and to Gus Hall's profound message which was deep and full of warm proletarian spirit. The relations between our two peoples are good, even if they are not good between our two governments. But our Party relations are even more friendly and for this reason we are happy.

We received our copy of your new draft program

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MEETING BETWEEN LEADERS OF COMMUNIST  
PARTY, SOVIET UNION, AND FRATERNAL  
DELEGATION FROM COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,  
TO XXIII CONGRESS, COMMUNIST PARTY,  
SOVIET UNION, APRIL, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

only in March. It had to be translated, of course, and, as you know, we were busy preparing for our own Congress. However, I personally read it and we printed a summary of it, as you know, in "Pravda." However, I want to read this draft more carefully. If you stay on here during May, we can talk again in more depth concerning your program. I do not want to enter into a discussion of your draft program now because I do not want to be just superficial. My first impressions are that it is a good document. It takes into consideration your movement, the conditions in your country, and the international experience.

At this point, Winston commented: As I pointed out before, Comrade Gus will be coming sometime this year and I am sure that you can have a meaningful discussion with him on this subject.

Ponomarev interjected: There is one question which I would like to ask. There is a possibility to develop contacts between the USSR and the United States along cultural lines, along scientific lines, on a government level and on the basis of public organizations. But we cannot lose sight of the fact that the United States is waging an aggressive war against the people of Vietnam. Can you tell me how the American public will take this development of such contacts with the United States, in view of the continuing war? What is the feeling of the American public? For example, here is a specific case. On the basis of an earlier agreement, our Bolshoi Ballet should go to the United States soon. We have raised a question about the desirability of this and have had some doubts about whether we should allow the Bolshoi to make this trip.

Jackson answered: We are of the opinion that an exchange in this field would not help the United States war makers but on the contrary would help the image of the USSR in our country. The United States people know that the Soviet Union is opposed to this war, and this cultural exchange would not change that opinion but would help it. You should know that the cadres in the universities, the writers, etc., constitute the bases of the peace movement in our country.

Suslov also posed a question: Three months ago someone from the United States Department of State made a

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MEETING BETWEEN LEADERS OF COMMUNIST  
PARTY, SOVIET UNION, AND FRATERNAL  
DELEGATION FROM COMMUNIST PARTY, USA,  
TO XXIII CONGRESS, COMMUNIST PARTY,  
SOVIET UNION, APRIL, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

request for a visa to come to the USSR as a "tourist." We rejected such a "tour." What do you think will be the reaction of the United States State Department to our request for visas for delegates to the CP, USA Convention.

Jackson again replied: Probably the best way to obtain visas is to do so as correspondents from the press who are coming to cover our convention. By this and other means, it should be possible to obtain visas for this purpose.

Then Ponomarev commented: We will make every effort to have a fraternal delegation present at your convention.

Winston then concluded the discussion: I want to assure you how happy we all are about the regularizing of the relations between our two Parties.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/6/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Report of Meir Vilner, Secretary of Political Bureau, Communist Party of Israel (Pro-Arab Group), Dealing with Internal Situation in Communist Party of Israel."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished during the period 4/25-29/66 by CG 5824-S\* to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement thus adversely affecting the national security.

To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D.C.

1-904 740 with level

③-Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)

1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)

1-Chicago

RWH:MDW  
(5)

REC 81

100-428091-5495  
6 MAY 11 1966Approved: *[Signature]*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

CG 134-46 Sub B

According to the source, the report delivered by MEIR VILNER, CP of Israel (pro-Arab group) was made at a meeting held in Moscow, USSR, 4/4/66. The meeting was requested by the CP, USA fraternal delegation to the 23rd Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and arranged by and held with the consent of the CPSU. The CP, USA representatives attending, in addition to the source, were HENRY WINSTON, HYMAN LUMER, and JAMES JACKSON.

Subsequent to the meeting held with the CP of Israel (pro-Arab group), a meeting was held on 4/5/66 with the CP of Israel (pro-Israeli group) and a separate letter-head memorandum is being submitted on this subject.

In connection with the meeting with the CP of Israel (pro-Arab group), HENRY WINSTON presented a formal invitation to this group to send a representative to the 18th National Convention, CP, USA, scheduled for 6/66.



## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

Washington, D. C.  
May 6, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

**REPORT OF MEIR VILNER, SECRETARY OF POLITICAL  
BUREAU, COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL (PRO-ARAB  
GROUP), DEALING WITH INTERNAL SITUATION IN  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF ISRAEL**

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in April, 1966, advised as follows:

In April, 1966, Meir Vilner, Secretary of the Political Bureau and a member of the Secretariat, and Emil Habibi, member of the Political Bureau, Communist Party (CP) of Israel (pro-Arab group), while in Moscow, USSR, to attend the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), met with the fraternal delegation from the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) who were also in that city to attend the same Congress. At this meeting, Vilner delivered a report dealing with the internal situation in the CP of Israel. The essence of his remarks was as follows:

We do not recognize that there are two Party groups or factions in Israel. There is only one CP of Israel. We have a majority of the CP membership. We were and are against the split as it is bad and only causes confusion in other Parties, especially those Parties which have a substantial Jewish membership. The solution to the situation in Israel is not in a Party split. In our opinion there are no objective reasons for such a split and only reaction can profit from such a split. Yet, the other group says the split was a "new spring and that in the past the CP was not a Party of Israeli content." To say this means disowning 45 years of Party history.

This split in the Israeli Party was never between the Jews and the Arabs. We had a majority of eleven to eight in the old Central Committee and of this eleven, six were Jewish. The old Party Secretariat of six members had only

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~~declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5495



REPORT OF MEIR VILNER, SECRETARY OF POLITICAL  
BUREAU, CP OF ISRAEL (PRO-ARAB GROUP), DEALING  
WITH INTERNAL SITUATION IN CP OF ISRAEL

~~TOP SECRET~~

one Arab comrade. After the other group left, 40% of the Jewish members remained with us and we still have 60% of the former total membership. Today we publish national language papers in Hungarian, Jewish, and Romanian. In the teachers union we got 231 votes; the other faction got 149, despite the support they received from the bourgeoisie.

We had discussions in Moscow during November, 1965, with both Mikhail Suslov and Boris N. Ponomarev, members of the Secretariat, CPSU, and they expressed themselves on the political question regarding Israel at that time. Our resolutions and opinions on that meeting coincided with those of our Soviet comrades. Actually, our resolutions are a resume of the position of the Soviet comrades. The other side had no such resolution after their meeting with these same Soviet comrades. In our meeting, the Soviet comrades proposed a "coordinating committee" to reunite the Party. We accepted all Soviet proposals, including those suggested on organization. We sent the other faction a letter dealing with unity and they answered that there is nothing to coordinate because there were no political grounds for unity.

In the Knesset or Parliament the other faction does not even talk to us. They refer to us as "Arab nationals" or "Jewish nihilists." Their position is that the CP of Israel should be composed of Jews and not Arabs if we want to be a national influence. Samuel Mikunis, General Secretary of the other faction, says that the CP, USA will never be a mass Party until they have a majority of non-Jews and non-Negroes. Now this is chauvinism.

Our fight during the struggle for independence always was that we should unite with the Arab people against the imperialists and not with Israel who is with the imperialists. Last year the "other" group's propaganda was 99% anti-Arab. They say they are against attacking the Government of Israel and we, too, are against this but at the same time we suggest changes in Israeli policies. We say no war can break out in this epoch without imperialist provocation. We are talking of war like Suez and not border incidents. Since the USSR supplies 99% of the arms to the Arabs, the Soviet Union then is the instigator of war according to the logic of the other group if you follow it to the end.

~~TOP SECRET~~

REPORT OF MEIR VILNER, SECRETARY OF POLITICAL  
BUREAU, CP OF ISRAEL (PRO-ARAB GROUP), DEALING  
WITH INTERNAL SITUATION IN CP OF ISRAEL

~~TOP SECRET~~

The question is how to bring about Arab-Israel peace. We say cut the ties with imperialism.

The other group would not join us in a greeting to the XXIII Congress of the CPSU where we stated firmly that Israel has a right to independence but suggested that the Palestine-Arab problem be solved. They, the Mikunis group, wanted to state that the Soviet Union recognized and proposed Israel as a state.

At the XXIII Congress of the CPSU Mikunis said our group's opinion was worse than that of the United Arab Republic, as projected by Gamal Abdel Nasser, President. He talked of Jews in general and how they should resist extermination. Mikunis proposed that the Jews organize internationally. This could have only one meaning, to exert pressure upon the Soviet Union.

We hold that the existence of the Jews does not depend upon Israel. If the imperialists make war or there is fascism in the major countries, the Jews will not be saved by Israel. At the present time the other group is discussing with the World Jewish Congress the possibility of their joining that organization. This group even had a meeting with Mrs. Golda Meier before leaving for the USSR.

In regard to the Tri-Continental Congress held in Havana, Cuba, early this year, the other group opposed this conference in total. We, however, suggested condemning only that part of the resolution of this Congress dealing with the elimination of Israel as a state and called for support of the Congress' main anti-imperialist content and movement.

At the present time, the left in Israel is weak. In the past we normally had six members in the Knesset most of the time. Now, we have only five. In the last election we received only two and three-fourth percent of the vote. Even the Mapam Party is weak and has only eight members in the Knesset although they do have ministers in the government. The Kibbutzim is their main base as well as ours.

~~TOP SECRET~~

REPORT OF MEIR VILNER, SECRETARY OF POLITICAL  
BUREAU, CP OF ISRAEL (PRO-ARAB GROUP), DEALING  
WITH INTERNAL SITUATION IN CP OF ISRAEL

~~TOP SECRET~~

In regard to reparations received from West Germany, they have served such tendencies as selfishness and property desires. This has had a definite effect on the morale of the people and cuts the voters of the left.

About the inner-Party norms. The other group always talked about weighting the Party with "real" Israelis. In the schools they always wanted to send a majority of Jews. The other group has a pessimistic nationalistic approach to all matters. We represent the working class and are optimistic.

Israel's national interest requires a different policy. In the case of war or even a blockade, Israel could be cut off with no wheat, no raw material, no machinery, etc.

If a representative of your Party comes to Israel, he will undoubtedly be told by the Mikunis group that "we are responsible" for letting the situation reach the present point. We did not stop the other group's splitting activities since we had a majority. We were always worried about Party unity and therefore accepted parity, and this was done to serve both the Party and the country. The other group refused this and thus split away. They would not even agree to wait until after the elections were held. We still work, however, for unity and are always seeking means to bring about a single united Party.

Before the present split, there had been some noticeable improvements with the Arab CPs. The Jordan CP, for one, had used initiative and we talked for the first time. The Soviet comrades were using the Israeli CP as an example of how relations could be conducted between Arab and Jewish comrades and peoples.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~

FBI

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/6/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL \_\_\_\_\_  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM : SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies, and for the New York Office one copy, of a letterhead memorandum (LHM) entitled "COMMENTS OF A LEADING REPRESENTATIVE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE ON THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN GREECE."

The information appearing in the enclosed LHM was orally furnished by CG 5824-S\* on 4/25-29/66 to SAs RICHARD W. HANSEN and WALTER A. BOYLE.

The enclosed LHM has been classified "~~Top Secret~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source, who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement, thus adversely affecting the national security.

In order to further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed LHM has been shown as having been prepared in Washington, D. C.

According to CG 5824-S\*, the meeting with the Greek fraternal representative to the 23rd Congress,

- 1-904 H.D. Smith
- ③ - Bureau (Encls. 4) (RM)
- 1 - New York (100-134637) (Encl. 1) (RM)
- 1 - Chicago

RWH/mes  
(5)

REC-18

100-428091-5496  
6 MAY 11 1966Approved: [Signature]

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

Special Agent in Charge

CG 134-46 Sub B

Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) had been requested by the CP, USA and arranged by and held with the consent of the CPSU. A representative from the CP, USA attending this meeting, in addition to CG 5824-S\*, was JAMES E. JACKSON.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

May 6, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

COMMENTS OF A LEADING REPRESENTATIVE  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE  
ON THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN GREECE

In April, 1966, a source who has furnished reliable information in the past advised as follows:

During the course of the XXIII Congress, Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), held in Moscow, USSR, March 29 to April 8, 1966, the CP, USA fraternal delegation to this Congress held a meeting with the leadership of the fraternal delegation of the CP of Greece. The spokesman for the respective Parties were James E. Jackson of the CP, USA and Kostas Koliannis, First Secretary, CP of Greece. The meeting was opened by Jackson, who informed the CP of Greece participants that the CP, USA had long fought against political repression of the Greek comrades. Now the CP, USA would like to know what the current situation is in Greece, the CP of Greece's future outlook there and what the CP, USA might do to aid their Party. Jackson then delivered to these representatives of the Greek CP an invitation for them to attend the forthcoming 18th National Convention of the CP, USA scheduled for June, 1966, at New York, New York.

After Jackson's opening remarks, Koliannis spoke, and the essence of his remarks was as follows:

We thank your Party for the invitation you have given us to attend your convention and will try to be there. As you know, we did attend the French and Italian Party Congresses, although we did this in an illegal way. However, to travel to the United States for such a purpose is different.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1~~

~~Excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5496

COMMENTS OF A LEADING REPRESENTATIVE  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE  
ON THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN GREECE

~~TOP SECRET~~

We also want to thank your Party for the campaigns it has undertaken seeking the release of political prisoners held in Greece. Even as of this time there are fifty such people still in prison from old Party cadres. Some of these individuals have been in prison fourteen years. Pressure can possibly compel the Greek Government to release these individuals, especially if such pressure originates from the outside, particularly from the United States.

In our fight for the legality of the Greek CP, it might be beneficial if the CP, USA could print some of our material. We can supply the documents, newspapers and other material which you might need.

At this point James Jackson interrupted and stated that the CP, USA was interested in getting articles of a summary nature dealing with Greece to be printed in U.S. Party publications. To this Koliannis remarked that every effort would be made to supply such material to the American Party.

Koliannis then continued to speak and the essence of his remarks was as follows:

I will give you some unpublished information concerning things in Greece. At the present time there are two left Parties in Greece, one is the Greek CP, which was outlawed in 1947, and the other is the United Democratic Left (E.D.A.), a legal Party. Some people think that E.D.A. is a cover-up for the CP. Some believe that the CP expresses its legal line through E.D.A. But this is not so.

E.D.A. consists of a bloc of varied trends and is much broader than the CP. It is called a Party in keeping with the law. Among its members are socialists, left democrats, communists, as well as peasants. Their program is definitely anti-imperialist. However, their program does not provide for a socialist transformation. We feel that E.D.A.'s program coincides only with the minimum program of the CP of Greece. However, the nature of this organization allows our CP members to work inside E.D.A. This Party has more flexible rules than our own CP. The Chairman of E.D.A., John Passalidis, is a socialist and it is well known that he is not a member of the CP, but only cooperates with us. We have worked with this Party since 1951, even though there have been a number of differences.

~~TOP SECRET~~

COMMENTS OF A LEADING REPRESENTATIVE  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF GREECE  
ON THE INTERNAL SITUATION IN GREECE

~~TOP SECRET~~

E.D.A. has its own publication, organization, and etc. Very often in their publications they reprint communist, as well as socialist, documents and also reprint a number of international documents.

As we have stated, the CP is not a legal Party. It has achieved some degree of legality. It is well known that there is CP representation in the leadership of E.D.A. and that some of our people are members of Parliament. The CP of Greece takes its own position on certain problems because E.D.A. does not always fully present the CP point of view. However, the existence of E.D.A. is a victory for the legality of the CP and we always strive to continuously broaden that organization's base. The one main point of the program of E.D.A. is to legalize the CP of Greece. Unofficially, there are many CP victories to the credit of E.D.A.

In addition to the E.D.A. papers which publish our documents, there are many other papers, for example the "Democratic Elage," which also express the CP view.

Regarding the political situation in Greece. The palace coup that overthrew Premier George Papandreou did not achieve the aims the Generals desired and the struggle is still going on.

The CP of Greece has a great deal of prestige in the country. E.D.A.'s prestige also reflects the prestige of the CP because it is well known that the communists are in leadership in that organization.

As to the effect of the Chinese CP on the CP of Greece, we feel they have had very little. We have unity and join in unity with the CPSU's line. There is a small group which split away from our Party which is pro-Chinese and with pro-Chinese money does publish a paper. We paid a high price for dogmatism after World War II. This is why we do not think much of the Chinese position today. When it comes to the question of unity, the Greek Party will support all things tending towards international unity, such as an international conference and aid to Vietnam.

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. It is the property of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

~~TOP SECRET~~



# ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

SAC, New York (100-134637A)

5/11/66

REC-18  
Director, FBI (100-428091) 5497

1 - Shaw

SOLO  
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

*1-2*  
*5.1*  
Reurlets 4/5/66 and 5/4/66, both of which pertain to the accounting of Solo funds maintained by NY 694-S\*.

It is noted that relet of 4/5/66 shows that the balance of Solo funds in the possession of NY 694-S\* at the end of March, 1966, was \$1,178,533.18. Relet of 5/4/66 shows the balance of these funds as of 4/1/66 to be \$1,182,533.78.

Promptly advise as to the explanation for the discrepancy of \$4,000.60 as noted above.

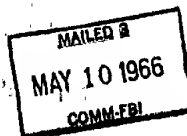
WGS:pah  
(4) *pah*

## NOTE:

The Bureau makes a monthly accounting of Solo funds in the possession of NY 694-S\* and CG 5824-S\*. New York has just finished a complete inventory of the several safe deposit boxes maintained by NY 694-S\*, but failed to indicate the reason for the above-noted discrepancy.

*pen*

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Wick \_\_\_\_\_  
Casper \_\_\_\_\_  
Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Felt \_\_\_\_\_  
Gale \_\_\_\_\_  
Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holmes \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_



*65 MAY 16 1966*  
MAIL ROOM ☒ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

# Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

DATE: 5/4/66

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-134637)(Adm)

SUBJECT: SOLO  
IS - C

Remylet 4/5/66.

The purpose of instant communication is to set out the accounting of the money maintained by the NYO of the SOLO funds for the month of April, 1966.

The period to be covered by this accounting is from 4/1/66 through 5/3/66. The reason for extending the period beyond the month of April is that on 5/3/66, an inventory of the safe deposit boxes maintained by NY 694-S\* was made by agents of this office and it is therefore desired that this accounting be as of that date in order to adjust the total to reflect an overage discovered. This overage amounted to \$3,391. In discussing this matter with NY 694-S\*, he said that no doubt this was money which had been returned to him by such individuals as HELEN WINTER as a result of money not used by her and that the informant must have forgotten to advise us and merely redeposited the money in the safe deposit boxes. The informant was admonished for such a failure and instructed that in the future he should be extremely alert to always advise his contacting agents of any receipts or disbursements involving this fund. He agreed to do so.

Since the NYO maintains safe deposit boxes for the SOLO operation it was mutually agreed that NY 694-S\* would no longer use the safe deposit box at 20 Pine Street, New York City, for SOLO funds. Therefore, after the inventory he was given \$250,000 which was placed in the safe deposit box at the 67 Broad Street branch of Chemical Bank-New York Trust Company. The balance of the money which had been in both boxes and which amounted to \$209,000, was taken to this office and has now been placed in the safe deposit boxes maintained by the NYO at the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company, 69th Street at Third Avenue.

- ② - Bureau (RM)  
1 - Chicago (134-46-Sub F)(RM)  
1 - NY 134-91-Inv. (#41)  
1 - NY 100-128861-Sub B (CPUSA Reserve Funds)(#42)  
NY #41  
WTM:IM  
(6)

REC-18

100-428091-5497  
5 MAY 11 1966

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NY 100-134637-Adm.

The following is the current account:

DEBITS

4/1/66	To GUS HALL (No explanation given by HALL)	\$20,000.00
4/6/66	To GUS HALL (CPUSA National Office ceprations)	6,000.00
4/13/66	To ARNOLD JOHNSON (\$5,000 for HELEN WINTER to use for May 1st delegation to Soviet Union.  \$5,000 for GUS HALL to pay expenses to maintain chauffeur)	10,000.00
4/13/66	To Chemical Bank-New York Trust Company (Safe-deposit boxes rental)	57.75
4/25/66	To LENA SCHERER (CPUSA National Office operations)	20,000.00
5/2/66	To HELEN WINTER (As loan to JESSICA SMITH for New World Review)	10,000.00
TOTAL		\$ 66,057.75

CREDITS

5/3/66	Overage discovered as a result of inventory of safe-deposit boxes maintained by NY 694-S*	3,391.00
--------	---	----------

BALANCE

4/1/66	On hand	\$1,182,533.78
	Credits	3,391.00
	Sub-total	\$1,185,924.78
	Less debits	66,057.75
5/3/66	On hand	\$1,119,867.03

*Balance as of  
3/31/66 was  
\$1,178,533.18  
Average of  
\$4,000.60*

NY 100-134637-Adm.

LOCATION OF SOLO FUNDS - NEW YORK OFFICE TERRITORY:

Maintained by NY 694-S\*

Safe-deposit box, Chemical Bank-New York  
Trust Company  
67 Broad Street  
New York City, N.Y.

\$250,000.00

JACK BROOKS Regular Checking Account at  
Chemical Bank-New York Trust Company  
20 Pine Street  
New York City, N.Y.

Account #1 (991-228919)

28,317.03

Account #2 (001-232835)

32,345.92

Account #3 (001-237942)

49,204.08

NY 694-S\* personal checking account  
Chemical Bank-New York Trust Company  
67 Broad Street  
New York City, N.Y.

4,000.00

Sub-Total

363,867.03

Maintained by NYO-FBI

Safe-deposit boxes  
Manufacturers-Hanover Trust Company  
59th Street at Third Avenue  
New York City, N.Y.

756,000.00

TOTAL (As of 5/3/66)

\$1,119,867.03

FBI

ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

Date: 5/5/66

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum captioned, "Report by Victorio Codovilla, Chairman, Communist Party of Argentina, on the Communist Party of Argentina and General Domestic Situation in the Country."

The information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished during the period 4/25-29/66 by CG 5824-S\* to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum is classified ~~TOP SECRET~~ since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement thus adversely affecting the national security.

To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D. C.

③ Bureau (Enc. 4) (RM)

1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM) 100-428091-5498

1-Chicago

RWH:MDW  
(5)

6 MAY 11 1966

Approved: \_\_\_\_\_  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

65 JUN 6 1966

CG 134-46 Sub B

In connection with the meeting referred to in the enclosed letterhead memorandum, CG 5824-S\* noted that this meeting was held in Moscow, USSR, on 4/9/66. The meeting had been requested by the CP, USA fraternal delegation to the 23rd Congress of the CP of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and set up with the consent and assistance of the CPSU. The CP, USA representatives who attended this meeting, in addition to the source, were HENRY WINSTON, HYMAN LUMER, and JAMES E. JACKSON. The participants of the CP of Argentina (CPA), in addition to VICTORIO CODOVILLA, Chairman, CPA, was RODOLFO GHIOLDI, a member of the Executive Committee and Central Committee, CPA.

In addition to the information set forth in the enclosed letterhead memorandum, CODOVILLA, in his remarks, also noted that the CPA was not presently receiving CP, USA publications such as "Freedomways," "American Dialog," "Economic Notes," and "Labor Today," and that Party would like to receive them. He noted that the CPA follows CP, USA publications with great attention, especially "The Worker." When he was informed that the CP, USA had recently printed a new draft program for the Party, he requested that they be furnished copies of it and indicated they would attempt to publish it in Spanish in Argentina.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D. C.

May 5, 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

REPORT BY VICTORIO CODOVILLA, CHAIRMAN,  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA, ON THE  
COMMUNIST PARTY OF ARGENTINA AND GENERAL  
DOMESTIC SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in April, 1966, advised as follows:

In April, 1966, a meeting was held in Moscow, USSR, between Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) and Communist Party of Argentina (CPA) fraternal delegates who had attended the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) held March 29 through April 8, 1966. Representing the CPA at this meeting were Victorio Codovilla, Chairman, and Rodolfo Ghioldi, a member of the Executive Committee and Central Committee, CPA. The spokesman for the CPA at this meeting was Codovilla, and he delivered a report on the CPA and the general situation in that country. The essence of Codovilla's remarks was as follows:

When Adolf Hitler's archives were opened after World War II, we found that Juan Peron had been a fascist agent. Receipts were found as well as pictures of Hitler, Mussolini, and Peron. The tasks which had been assigned to Peron were to furnish information to Hitler during World War II and to later prepare hideouts for German war criminals. At the same time, Peron was active in organizing fascist groups to take power when the opportunity was present.

The history of the trade union movement in Argentina is very interesting. Great industrial development occurred both during and after World War II. Although industrial development boomed, Peron gave the workers very little generally. However, agricultural workers did fare better as they did gain something as a result of the market for goods shipped through Spain.

~~TOP SECRET~~

~~Group 1  
excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification~~

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5498

REPORT BY VICTORIO CODOVILLA, CHAIRMAN,  
CPA, ON THE CPA AND GENERAL DOMESTIC  
SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY

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~~TOP SECRET~~

Peron's slogan for the agricultural workers and peasants was "those rich can become richer, those poor can get rich." He had much support in the rural areas and penetrated the trade union movement. Later, he organized his own trade unions. Peron then persecuted those who did not join his unions or work with him. Persecution took the form of loss of jobs, murder, etc.

Peron did raise the pay for some of those who worked in the many plants that supplied the fascists in Europe through Spain. He found pride in calling himself the "father" of trade unions. Yet he liquidated the old trade unions and allowed only his own. Those trade unions which had been influenced by the CP at the time did not want to surrender to Peron. In 1946 we started a movement for democratization of trade unions. We managed to work in Peron's unions but it was very difficult and we were branded Moscow agents. It was at this time that William Z. Foster, Chairman, CP, USA, was writing and exposing Argentinian fascism.

Even when the Peronistas movement--trade unions and agrarian--spread, we saw contradictions developing because of its class nature. At first Peron used the Mussolini method; that is, the corporate state. But the period of bribery came to an end and the economic situation in Argentina was deteriorating. When the Peronista movement weakened, the left trade unions, particularly those influenced by the CP, developed a growing independent movement. We worked among the masses and raised the political level, even of the Peronista trade unions.

Finally, the point was reached when Peron had to make a decision to either carry through his program and join with the workers or go further to the right. He did neither of these and, as a result, lost his power. We had suggested that arms be given to the workers, even to the Peronistas, but Peron was afraid and fled to Paraguay where he was well provided for.



REPORT BY VICTORIO CODOVILLA, CHAIRMAN,  
CPA, ON THE CPA AND GENERAL DOMESTIC  
SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY

~~TOP SECRET~~

The coup d'etat after Peron was not entirely directed against Peron but rather against the left and the CP. We at that time had supported the Peronista workers in agriculture. We had fought reaction and defended the trade unions. This policy and program brought us close to the workers and the Peron movement. The government that replaced Peron wanted to smash the trade union movement and, in fact, all people's organizations. The national bourgeoisie failed, however, to destroy the unity of the masses. Finally the government made a deal with United States imperialism and with the right wing of the Peron movement. Arturo Frondizi, who took over the reins of the Argentinian Government, received support from the Peronista workers and also from the CP. We wanted and spoke out for freedom of action and civil liberties. Then the Government worked to smash us. They did give the Peronistas certain concessions but they repressed us. After five or six months in power, and at the behest of United States imperialism, the CP was banned. They did this because the government wanted loans from the United States.

Despite the fact the CP has worked underground, we have thirty years' experience. We know how to work in trade unions and with the masses influenced by Peron. We consider the Peronista movement as a bourgeois movement with a government of left phrases. However, such a movement, because of its class nature, could not fulfill the demands of the working class.

Our slogan has always been unity in struggle. The working class movement in Argentina has been either with Peron or with the CP. The Socialist Party has no support or influence and is primarily occupied with the electoral campaign. This Party is divided into four factions. The biggest faction and a majority work with us but they have only traditions and no influence on the masses and workers, either Peronista or CP.

The bourgeoisie were tolerant of the Peronista movement because they hoped to swing them against the CP. The CP, however, was by now leading the united movement and the old trade union leaders who formerly called us agents of Moscow now called us comrades and dealt with us. While we could not work as the heads of trade unions, we worked from below and influenced the Peronistas to side with our program.

~~TOP SECRET~~

REPORT BY VICTORIO CODOVILLA, CHAIRMAN,  
CPA, ON THE CPA AND GENERAL DOMESTIC  
SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY

~~TOP SECRET~~

The CP through the united front conducts many big campaigns, strikes, etc., which prevented the government from sending troops to the Dominican Republic. We also have organized resistance and so far have prevented the government from sending troops to Vietnam. The CP won a victory in the sense that it educated the masses. Throughout it all, the workers have been taught to use new methods of defense--strikes, sit-ins, long demonstrations, occupation of streets, etc.

We cannot concretely place the problem regarding the method of taking power in Argentina but we can say we do not advocate guerrilla war. We want to use the electoral methods combined with struggles. Our program has been well received by the masses of the workers and by large sections of the middle class. The masses understand us.

Today, the reactionaries and some bourgeoisie are now planning another coup. We do not want to provoke them or play into the hands of the guerrillas. The government now has the policy of working with those trade unions which are anti-communist. Our policy is to call upon the masses to fight all attempts at such a coup. We suggest street fighting, strikes, arms, etc., to prevent this. In Argentina we can do this because trade unions are organized in industry, agriculture, and among government employees. There are one million members in agricultural organizations. Small businesses are also well organized, especially in the cooperatives. We influence and control 80% of these. We are organizing them against the monopolies and against the penetration of Yankee imperialism in Argentinian industry. This causes small bourgeoisie factory owners, shop owners to fight the United States monopolies.

Armed resistance is not a permanent policy of the CP of Argentina. We are for resistance only to the coup d'etat. The united front committee is headed by the CP.

The fact that Yankee monopolies own most of our industry is a serious problem for us.

In Argentina we have all kinds of united front committees composed of women, youth, pro-Cubans, and students. The latter are 80% under our influence. This is why we can raise slogans for a democratic rational government.

~~TOP SECRET~~

REPORT BY VICTORIO CODOVILLA, CHAIRMAN,  
CPA, ON THE CPA AND GENERAL DOMESTIC  
SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY

---

~~TOP SECRET~~

The armed forces of Argentina are well prepared and organized and consist of 150,000 men. We have contact with officers, especially in the middle categories. We have a special committee of the Central Committee that directs this and have a committee for work among the armed forces. When troops were being readied for San Domingo, we reached the barracks and sent our people in and received assurances that they would refuse to go.

We are also working hard among the very poor in a struggle against poverty. We are fighting for their daily needs and demands. In and around Buenos Aires alone there are a half million such poverty-stricken people.

Today, we can characterize our government as a bourgeois liberal government. It still uses repression, is not consolidated, and continues to look to Yankee imperialism.

Formally our Party is "legal" but no meetings are allowed. We do keep our offices open but we work under other names. United States imperialism is not happy with this situation and wants more repression against the communists. Recently United States Ambassador Martin visited President Arthur Illia and he said the Vietnam situation was bad and if the United States is licked there, you, too, will suffer. He said the United States knows that the pressure of the masses kept Argentina from sending troops to San Domingo but "we now demand troops for Vietnam. If you don't, there will be no help from us." Illia was silent but some ministers urged Argentinian participation in Vietnam. One of our ministers on the way home from Tokyo stopped in Saigon to show solidarity with the Yankees. This caused a furor among the ministers in his own Party and in the nation as well.

We do not propose the overthrow of this government but we are urging the firing of some generals. We do not propose guerrilla warfare and are not of the same opinion as our Cuban comrades on this. Our conditions are now different and such could only lead to defeats at this moment. There will be no adventures for us. Our leadership is united on this.

~~TOP SECRET~~

REPORT BY VICTORIO CODOVILLA, CHAIRMAN,  
CPA, ON THE CPA AND GENERAL DOMESTIC  
SITUATION IN THE COUNTRY

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We are against the Solidarity Committee for Latin America. This view was sent to Havana and we pointed out that this was not for us and that our conditions were different.

In Bolivia, Peru, and Paraguay the guerrilla wars were fruitless. We told the Bolivians, who have only a thousand members, this. Some of our people who worked abroad in some of these countries came back convinced that guerrilla war was not for Argentina. Some of those Parties like Bolivia and Peru went to the mountains to be out of reach of the troops but then as guerrillas they could not reach the masses.

Some of the guerrillas in Peru were trained in Cuba and smuggled in. They had a painful experience also. Now, the CP there has been reorganized without a guerrilla movement. They found that by being divorced from the masses they could not win.

We are sometimes called "reformists," "revisionists," etc., but we do not care. Our Party is united and has a cadre well trained in Marxism-Leninism. We are united with the masses and a big part of our working class support comes from the former Peronistas. We have peasants in our movement also. The major difficulty is a geographical one and how to connect groups and factions. We have 135,000 supporters, 80% of them active. We have also struggled against sectarianism and have overcome it. While we have 35,000 members in our Young Communist League (YCL), this does not really give a true picture of our influence there. We have told our YCL to get closer to the youth.

Our cadre and our Party is educated in the spirit of international unity and solidarity. Of course, we have had our difficulties, too, but we do have democracy and initiative in the Party. We publish more Marxist-Leninist literature than any other Party in Latin America and sometimes, in fact, publish more than some European Parties. Fourteen thousand copies of the Spanish edition of the "World Marxist Review," official theoretical organ of the international communist movement, are circulated with 80% of them paid for and 40% of them sold outside the Party. We also publish newspapers

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and the circulation of the main ones are: "Nuestra Palabra," 60,000 copies; "Nueva Era," 17,000 copies. We also publish a number of journals such as "Problemas de Economia" on a three-times-a-year basis; "Problemas de Marxism" on a four-times-a-year basis; and "Problemas de Cultura" on a six-times-a-year basis. For the first time in history of Latin America 42 volumes of Lenin are being published. Thirty of these volumes were prepared or published when we were in an underground status. We have also published four volumes of my works. Also, a number of volumes of Karl Marx's works are being published, including full translation of "Capital."

We do have some of our own print shops but also utilize small commercial shops. These shops worked nights and week ends for us during our underground period. Some were and are operated by members and former members of the CP. During the underground period we ran all our own print shops. Now, if the police close a shop, we compensate the owner and give him money for a new one.

In the CP of Argentina we have five editorial boards. One editorial board handles the classics, two boards deal with our magazines, and the others handle preparation of historical, philosophical, and economic works of both Party and non-Party.

The slogan of our Party is "if you close a door, open the window."

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## ROUTE IN ENVELOPE

FBI

Date: MAY 6 1966

Transmit the following in \_\_\_\_\_  
(Type in plaintext or code)Via AIRTEL REGISTERED MAIL  
(Priority)

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-428091)

FROM: SAC, CHICAGO (134-46 Sub B)

SOLO  
IS-C

Enclosed herewith for the Bureau are the original and three copies and for the New York Office one copy of a letterhead memorandum entitled, "Discussion of Rodney Arismendi, First Secretary, Communist Party of Uruguay, on the Situation in Uruguay and Status of the Communist Party of Uruguay."

The information appearing in the enclosed letterhead memorandum was orally furnished by CG 5824-S\* during the period 4/25-29/66 to SAs WALTER A. BOYLE and RICHARD W. HANSEN.

The enclosed letterhead memorandum has been classified "~~TOP SECRET~~" since unauthorized disclosure of the information set forth therein could reasonably result in the identification of this source who is furnishing information on the highest level concerning the international communist movement thus adversely affecting the national security.

To further protect the identity of this source, the enclosed letterhead memorandum has been shown as having been prepared at Washington, D. C.

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1-New York (100-134637) (Enc. 1) (Info) (RM)  
1-Chicago

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EX-112

REC-11

100-428091-5499  
6 MAY 11 1966

Approved: *[Signature]*  
Special Agent in Charge

Sent \_\_\_\_\_ M Per \_\_\_\_\_

65 JUN 6

Let to State  
1-614  
NIM: pph  
5/12/66

*[Handwritten signature]*  
Walter A. Boyle

*[Handwritten initials]*

D. T. [unclear] [unclear]  
*[Handwritten signature]*

CG 134-46 Sub B

According to source, the report delivered by RODNEY ARISHMENDI, First Secretary, CP of Uruguay, was made at a meeting held in Moscow, USSR, 4/7/66. This meeting was requested by the CP, USA and set up with the consent of the CP of the Soviet Union.



In Reply, Please Refer to  
File No.

## UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

## FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Washington, D.C.

MAY 6 1966

~~TOP SECRET~~

DISCUSSION OF RODNEY ARISHMENDI, FIRST  
SECRETARY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF URUGUAY,  
ON THE SITUATION IN URUGUAY AND STATUS  
OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF URUGUAY

A source, who has furnished reliable information in the past, in April, 1966, advised as follows:

In April, 1966, the fraternal delegations of the Communist Party, USA (CP, USA) and the Communist Party of Uruguay (CPU) to the XXIII Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), held March 29 through April 8, 1966, Moscow, USSR, met. At this meeting Henry Winston, Vice Chairman, CP, USA, and Rodney Arishmendi, First Secretary, CPU, acted as spokesmen for their respective Parties. Winston opened this meeting with some brief remarks, the essence of which was as follows:

The CP, USA is planning its 18th National Convention in New York City during late June, 1966, and at this time desires to invite the Uruguayan comrades to send a fraternal delegate. In preparation for this convention, we have prepared a new draft program for the Party which we plan to translate into Spanish. Regarding this program, we would like the opinions of the Uruguayan Party.

The CP, USA has long admired the Uruguayan Party's contacts and work among the masses, trade unions, and in Parliament.

Arishmendi then spoke, and the essence of his remarks was as follows:

We thank you for the kind words and are glad that you are interested in Latin American problems and particularly those dealing with Uruguay. We hope that you will be able to send us articles and more information about struggles now going on in the United States relating to labor, the Negro freedom movement, etc. Also, we would like some information from you regarding certain theoretical problems.

~~TOP SECRET~~

Group 1

ENCLOSURE

100-428091-5499 excluded from automatic  
downgrading and  
declassification



DISCUSSION OF RODNEY ARISHMENDI,  
FIRST SECRETARY, CPU, ON THE  
SITUATION IN URUGUAY AND STATUS  
OF THE CPU

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In regard to your new draft program for the Party, if it is not too long we will make every effort to publish it in one of our monthly magazines. For this reason we would like a translated copy of your program.

In regard to your invitation to us to attend your 18th National Convention, we would like to do so but it is very difficult for us to travel to the United States. The United States does not even give visas to businessmen whom they suspect hold popular leanings. We, ourselves, hope to hold a Congress at the end of June and the first part of July. It would be easier for you to come to our Congress and we would like to have you send one delegate from your Convention. We will try, however, to get to the United States for your Convention.

Now, on the situation in Uruguay. The main characteristic of the past ten years has been the growing mass movement in the country. We have organized the entire working class and succeeded in unifying it through a process of struggles. Ten years ago the working class movement was split into a number of parts. One-third of it was led by the CP, another third was under the leadership of autonomous trade unions with some political trends, and the remainder was led by anti-communist members of the ORIT trade union organization. We managed to lick this and we have destroyed the influence of the American Federation of Labor-CIO George Meany-Jay Lovestone group. Now, the only influence left of the AFL-CIO is their school which is conducted in the United States Embassy in Montevideo and where they prepare their agents.

We have worked in the trade union movement from both above and below. We worked first of all in the autonomous unions and then organized the Center of the Workers of Uruguay. This is a trade union organization which has influence in intellectual and middle class organizations. We have also participated in the organization of an assembly which is now maintained on a permanent basis. Trade union groups such as the Federation of Students, Union of Teachers, white collar workers, government employees, medical workers and cooperative

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federation participate. Even some well-to-do organizations are included in this assembly. They are organized into the great Popular Congress. They have an advanced program which seeks to become organized with the working class and then work for an alliance of trade unions with other classes. Their aim is to extend this organization into the rural areas and in this connection they already have some peasant cooperatives involved. In this Popular Congress there are 450 organizations with a zone of influence among approximately 700,000 out of a total population of two million in Uruguay.

All of this has been done through the process of struggle. These struggles have taken the form of strikes, occupation of factories, demonstrations, and marches against the government. All of these struggles have not been merely for economic demands but have also been for the political demands of the people.

In the last decade, some 33 general strikes have been called. Two of these were general strikes in sympathy with Cuba. There was also a general strike against a possible coup d'etat. There were also strikes against the International Monetary Fund and sympathy strikes in support of other workers in trouble.

We have had some great battles in the defense of democratic liberties in Uruguay. In June, 1964, after the coup in Brazil, a like attempt was made in Uruguay. The workers and the people at this time called a general strike involving some 500,000 to defend democracy. After three months of struggle, we stopped reaction and made the retreat. During this period bank and government employees demanded pay increases. They organized demonstrations in front of Parliament and also undertook stoppages while at work for an hour or two. To counter this, the government suspended constitutional liberties and arrested hundreds of people. The radio and press were suppressed and efforts were made to break the unions. Workers answered this government action with a general strike. First, there was a general strike for 24 hours. This was then followed by a 72-hour strike of bank employees and a strike of dock workers and oil workers, plus illegal demonstrations. The government suppressed our press but journalists and printers

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answered by shutting down the bourgeois press. All of this was a broad movement and the government could not crush it. Finally, the government had to negotiate and give us concessions. First, they released prisoners and then allowed the trade union press to operate. However, the government was seeking also to win time by negotiating and then commenced to hit back. They delayed conclusions and stalled. As a result, we opened up on the government with strikes and demonstrations. This forced the government to restore constitutional guarantees. But during that night the government ordered the arrest of 3,000 trade union leaders. Between the hours of 2:00 and 5:00 a.m. they raided the homes of the trade union leaders but found only 41 instead of the 3,000. Then, again, we called a general strike of 72 hours, including a strike of the bourgeois press. This was a real mass strike. The government could not follow through on the arrests it had planned. This general strike was then followed by sit-ins of workers and clerks who occupied factories and banks. Railroad workers, though on strike, did transport the working people but refused to transport police and troops. The utility and communication workers would switch off lights for an hour during this time, even in government houses. This latter activity was a new phase of a general strike.

To retaliate, the government resorted to provocations charging that the Soviet Embassy was directing this strike. At the time of this strike the government was divided, with one part calling for conciliation and the other for repression and a coup d'etat. Those seeking conciliation looked for solutions and favored negotiations because repression had not brought results. Negotiations were then undertaken by the government and as a result they agreed to raise wages, release prisoners, to reinstate those fired, and again guaranteed democratic liberties. This was how that general strike was brought to an end. The Minister of Interior and Chief of Police were dismissed, as were others who had used repression.

At the present time a large number of the trade unions have become firmly united and will soon present a draft seeking to strengthen the constitution of Uruguay and secure

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other reforms of the constitution. There will be provisions in this for the broadening of civil liberties and also provisions to give control of foreign policy back to Parliament and provide for certain nationalization and agrarian reforms as well as placing worker representation in some institutions. A plebiscite on the proposed strengthening and reforms of the constitution will require the signatures of some 200,000 voters. The trade unions are taking an active part in the electoral life of Uruguay with this type of a program.

In the struggles in Uruguay, the role of our Party as well as the role of the communist youth has been recognized. The Party during the past ten years has increased its membership fivefold. Seventy-eight percent of our CP members are industrial or transport workers. In the Montevideo transportation system alone some 800 communists are employed. Our youth organization has been very militant and has also grown.

The CP of Uruguay publishes magazine sections in its paper devoted to trade union activities. Also on Monday we publish an eight-page magazine section on sports. We also publish separately a Party magazine, youth magazine, and many factory papers. Our Party uses the radio everyday. For example, at 8:00 a.m. in the morning we present the news. Again, at 10:00 a.m. we present the news and political comment by Senator Enrique Rodriguez, a Party member. Again, at 12:30 p.m., lunch time, we have an half hour total of radio time. We present the news here and have twenty minutes of political comments introduced by "The Left is Speaking." At 10:30 p.m., we repeat the earlier program with additional news. Important events of the CP, like meetings, etc., are broadcast.

In Uruguay there is also presently a left front of liberation, the Frentz Izquierdista de Liberacion, which includes the CP and others. This is the nucleus of liberation. They have a newspaper called "Front." This movement also utilizes radio.

An analysis of political prospects in Uruguay appears to indicate an acceleration of the struggles. Our Party has had

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some weaknesses in the past. In the first place, our work in the rural areas has been limited. Then, we have found that the large masses have been slow in development and lack class consciousness. Then, too, despite our own increased CP membership, we are too small for the number of masses we lead at this stage of the struggle. We need a mass Party for the masses. We need cadres and cannot lead if we are amorphous. We also must organize and grow ideologically. This is the problem because life is rapid. We do have schools, etc. Almost all trade union leaders in Uruguay are communists. But this CP force must be increased if we are to consolidate. We must increase our role in the trade union movement as well as in Parliament, etc., but at the same time do this in conjunction with the masses. Parliamentary achievements are based on the pressure of the masses.

As to the armed forces, most of the officers are of the middle class. Despite the work of the United States and of the fascists in the Army, the majority of these officers are democratic. A section of the officers of the Army was against the coup we spoke of. We cultivate and appeal to these officers and to the Army in general. We urge unity of the Army with the people and appeal to anti-imperialist sentiments.

As to how much industry is now in the hands of the government. About one-third of the national economy is state owned. This includes petroleum, television, alcohol, Port of Montevideo, a part of the refrigeration industry, railroads, and municipal transport in the capital. Also, some of the main fishing factories are government owned. The state also has some sugar plantations used by the alcohol monopoly and also some grape plantations. The government also owns some tankers used by the oil monopoly. There are also some banks belonging to the state.

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